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MODERN CITIES

THE PIAZZA CORVETTO IN GENOA

This public square is generally considered one of the most beautiful in Europe

MODERN CITIES

PROGRESS OF THE AWAKENING FOR THEIR BETTERMENT HERE AND IN EUROPE

BY

HORATIO M. POLLOCK, PH.D. (Leipzig)

AND

WILLIAM S. MORGAN, PH.D. (Yale)

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PREFACE

THE writers of this volume were closely associated for several years in active work for municipal betterment in the city of Albany, New York. While thus engaged they came in touch with the principal movements for social progress in America. In the summer of 1910 they went abroad together and spent several months in observing the best features of municipal life in the continental cities of Europe. Their itinerary included the cities of Genoa, Turin, Milan, Venice, Bologna, Florence, Rome and Naples in Italy; Geneva, Lausanne, Fribourg, Berne, Lucerne, and Zurich in Switzerland; Munich, Nuremburg, Berlin, Potsdam, Charlottenburg, Dresden, Leipzig, Weimar, Eisenach, Mainz, Cologne and Düsseldorf in Germany; Amsterdam and the Hague in Holland; Brussels in Belgium; and Paris, Rouen and Havre in France. As many of these cities and some of the cities of the British Isles had been visited on a previous trip, a broad basis for comparison and a measure of recent progress were afforded.

The aim in the preparation of the work has been to give students and others interested in

social progress and civic betterment a comprehensive view of the best modern features and ideals of municipal life without burdening the pages with details. While frequent reference is made to European conditions and some of the achievements and problems of European cities are discussed at length, the needs of American cities have been uppermost in the minds of the writers. It is earnestly hoped that the recital of the successful efforts of municipalities in many lands will serve to stimulate and guide others to like accomplishments.

We wish to acknowledge our indebtedness to the Hon. Philander C. Knox, Secretary of State, for his letter of introduction to the diplomatic and consular officers of the United States; and to the latter for the great service rendered us in facilitating our investigations.

WILLIAM S. MORGAN.
HORATIO M. POLLOCK.

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MODERN CITIES

CHAPTER I

THE MODERN CITY

THE last three decades have witnessed remarkable changes in city life throughout the civilized world. During these years many cities have doubled or trebled their population and have undergone a complete transformation in their physical make-up and social arrangements. Cleanliness, beauty and health have taken up their abode in the modern city and are fast displacing the dirt, ugliness and disease so prevalent in its predecessor. A new spirit pervades the city of to-day—a spirit of hopefulness, of progressiveness and of genuine interest in the common welfare. A quarter of a century ago and less writers were deploring the failure of American cities. There were plenty of conspicuous examples to adorn their tales. Failure was written large over the doors of most of our city council chambers. Fraud, bribery, graft, betrayal of trust, were the unpleasant words

by which the city councilman's work was described. The "boss" was cursed for enriching himself at the expense of the public and for his success in corrupting the body politic. The citizenship was blamed for its apathy and inertness.

These criticisms were just for the most part and served to stimulate a large number of patriotic citizens to more earnest work on behalf of the city. City problems were studied, both at home and abroad. Local leagues for civic betterment were formed. Great national organizations, such as the National Municipal League and the American Civic Association, were created. New forms of city government were introduced and a comparison of results was instituted. To these efforts much of the present hopeful attitude in American cities is due.

But the modern city is not alone an American product. The cities of Germany and England have advanced even more rapidly than ours. Ancient Rome, ancient Turin, medieval Paris and medieval Florence are also modern cities. There is scarcely a city anywhere that can be called civilized that has not caught something of the modern spirit.

What then is the cause of this new product of the world's civilization? Whence comes the genius that has wrought so marvelously in many lands? The modern city is not the result of a

single cause but of many causes. Among these we may cite:

Peace.—Since the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71 there has been but little war among civilized nations. Neither the Boer war, the Spanish-American war, nor the Russo-Japanese war was destructive of cities. The great contests of the last two wars were fought on the sea. While the city has not been spared its share in the cost of the preparation for war, nor its share in the burden imposed by previous wars, freedom from invasion and siege and the excessive cost of fortifications have been a great relief. Energy and wealth that formerly were consumed in war have been used in building roads, bridges, factories and homes. The thought of the nations has also turned from war and military glory to commerce and industrial development. Men of genius, of mechanical skill and of executive capacity have worked together in building up great industrial enterprises. These victories of peace have made the modern city possible.

New Inventions.—During the last quarter of the nineteenth century the telephone was perfected and the means of converting electrical energy into light, heat and power were discovered. More recently the explosive engine has been brought into active service in the automobile and aeroplane. The effect of these in-

ventions on the city has been manifold. Electricity in all its varied forms is a unifying force. The telephone brings its subscribers together by means of a central switchboard. A generating station is the one source of light and power for many thousands of consumers. The light of the whole city dies and trolley-cars stand helpless when the central generator breaks down. Naturally there has risen a common interest in these sources of common pleasure and comfort. The application of electricity to transportation has had an expanding as well as unifying effect. The benefits derived from the introduction of the trolley-car into large cities can hardly be estimated. The slowness of the horse-car compelled the workman to live near his work and made congestion almost a necessity. The steam-car, while serving admirably for rapid transportation between cities, was impracticable for city streets. The coming of the trolley-car became a boon. This new mode of transportation through city streets trebled at once the possible distance between the workmen and their work and made suburban home life possible for those whose occupation called them to the heart of the city. Naturally a great expansion in the area of cities has followed the building of electric roads. Small outlying villages, after being connected by trolley with a city, have been built up rapidly; the intervening gap between city

and village has gradually been filled up until finally the limits of the city have extended to include the village.

For the smaller cities the electric surface car has well solved the problems of transportation, but the marvelous expansion of a few cities has made necessary the adoption of more rapid means of transit. The movement of surface cars in cities like New York and Berlin is constantly impeded by the many vehicles and pedestrians that are compelled to use the streets. In order to overcome this difficulty and to secure rapid transit from one part of the city to another in these large cities, it has been found necessary to erect elevated tracks through certain streets and to dig subways under others. The first elevated tracks in city streets were built about twenty-five years ago; the subways are more recent. The latter means of transit are much preferred. They are quiet, they do not encumber the street and they are safer and swifter. For a time steam was the motive power on the elevated roads of New York as well as in the subways of London, but the noise, smoke and dirt therefrom was merely endured until electricity was made available.

A feature of the large modern city made possible by these improved methods of transportation is the separation of business districts from residence districts. In whole blocks in the

business section of lower Manhattan for example scarcely a dwelling will be found. The people who swarm the offices and stores in this section during the day have their homes in the outlying sections of the city or in the suburban villages and cities ten to forty miles distant.

The use of electricity for lighting has resulted in making city streets much lighter than before and in enabling schools, churches, theaters and other public buildings to obtain abundant light without vitiating the air. How much has been gained in public order and health from the use of electricity for lighting will never be known, but we may be certain it has not been inconsiderable.

The automobile is still too modern for its effect on city life to be fully appreciated. The "taxi" is displacing the old-fashioned cab, and the touring-car, the pleasure carriage. The change is a happy one for the city. As the auto moves quicker and carries a larger load than a horse-drawn wagon, fewer vehicles are needed and less congestion is seen. Moreover, the auto is clean and its use greatly simplifies the process of street cleaning.

In Paris, Berlin and London the auto-bus has come into extensive use as a means of transportation. As supplementary to the surface cars and subways it serves as a most convenient and a fairly expeditious mode of travel. Its

superiority over the old horse-drawn omnibus is almost as marked as that of the trolley-car over the old horse-car.

The signaling apparatus in use by police and fire departments is another adaptation of electricity that means much to the modern city. The up-to-date fire department with its trained firemen, its instantaneous alarm system, its swift automobiles, its high pressure extinguishers and its powerful engines affords protection that thirty years ago would have been deemed impossible.

Biological Discoveries.—The intimate relationship existing between the various departments of human activities is well illustrated by the transformations wrought in the physical aspects of our cities by the biological discoveries of the latter part of the nineteenth century. The great epoch-making discovery was that of Pasteur that disease was disseminated by means of micro-organisms. These minute bodies, floating through the air on dust particles, or living and multiplying in water and moist earth or being carried about by flies and mosquitoes and finally finding lodgment in the human body were found to be responsible for tuberculosis, tetanus, typhoid fever, scarlet fever, diphtheria, smallpox, and many other dread diseases. When this fact became known and accepted, efforts to check the spread of the germs

were made. Systems of quarantine were established in cities and infected dwellings were fumigated.

Much more important from the standpoint of city upbuilding, however, have been the establishing of systems of pure water supply, the building of sewers and of sewage disposal plants, the collection of all forms of refuse by the municipality and the thorough cleaning of streets. The problem of fighting bacteria has resolved itself mainly into the removal of filth, the letting in of sunlight and making provision for an abundant supply of pure air and pure water. In our later chapter on the "Conservation of Human Life" we set forth with some detail the remarkable changes that have taken place in the death-rates of cities since these discoveries were made.

Desire for Outdoor Life.—Closely allied to changes that have been made to escape the ravages of the disease germs, are those that have provided means of recreation in the open air. Whether consciously seeking health or not, the people of cities are spending more and more time in the open air. There has resulted a growing demand for more open space, more parks and playgrounds and larger lots. These are rapidly being supplied in residence districts. Outdoor sports and entertainments have also increased in popularity and amusement parks

have arisen in the suburbs of cities to meet the public demand.

Demand for Beauty.—The outdoor life of the people, together with increased wealth, has created a demand for beauty in the external features of the city. In response to this demand skilful landscape artists are employed to lay out parks and public gardens. Foresters are placed in charge of the trees in the public streets and in public building great care is exercised to produce artistic effects.

The regulation of architecture is becoming general. The extreme individuality of American cities has been the principal cause of the lack of harmony found on many of our business and residence streets. The individual built regardless of others. His taste, whether good or bad, mattered little as there was no effort to harmonize the work of one individual with that of another. In European cities the desirability of harmony in buildings on the same street has long been recognized. These cities compel the individual to conform to the public standard of beauty. American cities, on the other hand, have permitted great freedom to builders, but they are beginning to establish building departments with authority to regulate architecture as well as materials and plumbing.

City Planning.—The desire that the city it-

self shall be an expression of art has called into being the new science of city planning. New cities, such as the garden cities of England, are carefully planned to meet the modern requirements of homes, streets, parks, civic centers, business districts, etc., while older cities are being remodeled along lines of increased beauty and efficiency. The extent to which a city goes in planning for the future is in large degree the measure of its modernness. In fact, any city that is selfishly content with its present attainments and that thinks more of its tax-rate than its future well-being cannot be classed as a truly modern city.

Enlightened City Management.—The application of new inventions and new scientific discoveries has called for expert work in city management. To manage a modern city something more than success in business or in law or medicine is needed. City management is in itself a profession. The German cities were first to recognize this fact and to act accordingly. The Germans consequently are leading the world in the scientific management of cities. By placing trained men in authority the Germans secure efficiency and a high degree of skill in every department of city affairs. The work of the city proceeds in an orderly and systematic manner. The people have confidence in the ability and honesty of their public officers,

and the officers find their highest reward in skilfully serving the public. The cleanliness and order of the city streets, the healthfulness and thrift of the people, and the absence of crime and disorder, tell the story of the success of the Germans.

As the secret of the achievements of the German city is becoming known, other cities are imitating the German plan of management. In America, until recently, we have not been able to separate the management of the city from national politics. In the confusion that has resulted from our efforts to combine the two, the city has suffered most. With the adoption and successful working of the commission plan of government by many cities, the outlook for the management of the future is exceedingly bright.

Cooperation.—The keynote of the life of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was competition. Business firms competed strenuously with one another for trade and laboring men competed with one another for jobs. Markets were established on a competitive basis and prices were regulated by demand and supply. During the past thirty years great changes have taken place in the industrial and commercial world. The keynote of the twentieth century is cooperation. Industry has become concentrated as never before. Men engaged in

the same lines of business are no longer competitors, but associates, or fellow-workers. They may not share in each other's profits, but the prices they charge and the mode of conducting their business are determined by mutual agreement. Likewise the laboring man enters into social relations with his fellow-laborers in the same line of work, and instead of competing they endeavor to render helpful service one to another. This spirit of cooperation has come into the city life and is producing a marked effect. Many of the changes we have noted in the foregoing discussion of the causes of the modern city would not have been possible without a high degree of cooperation. The telephone, whether operated by the municipality or a corporation, is essentially a cooperative method of communication. Likewise the electric light, the trolley-car, the water supply system and many other utilities of the modern city are brought into being by the needs and contributions of large numbers of people. Cities differ greatly in the extent of their cooperative enterprises but there is no mistaking the trend toward the enlargement of municipal undertakings. The successful cities of Germany above referred to are the ones that have taken to themselves the largest measure of the business of the municipality. We might almost say that

skilful management and enlarged city functions have gone hand in hand.

It is clearly evident that cooperation calls for a higher degree of intelligence than competition or individual effort. Any one can dig a well, but a trained engineer is required to construct a city water works system. A kerosene lamp is easy to manage, but the services of experts of various kinds are required to run an electric light plant. A higher degree of honesty is also required for cooperative undertakings. When large numbers of people are dependent for comfort, health and life on the work of one, that one must not fail in his task. Happily the modern city is not lacking in men of intelligence and honor.

We have thus briefly set forth some of the causes and elements of the modern city. Taken together they produce a new and better civilization than the world has previously known. However, in spite of the great progress that has been wrought many of the evils that have long afflicted society still persist. Poverty, drunkenness, gambling, prostitution, crime and disease are found in the modern city and greatly lessen its effectiveness. Without them the sum of the world's happiness would be increased many fold. The greed and oppression of the very rich—the great captains of industry, the magnates of

public utilities and human necessities are felt as never before in the world's history. In America these men of great wealth control the railroads, the trolley-lines in cities, the gas and electric lighting plants, and most of the supply of coal, oil, meat, flour and sugar. Incidentally they also control political parties and city and state governments. Ignorance, also is still found in the modern city. The progress of the modern city that we have described is due to the thought and work of comparatively few men and women. The great mass of the people are still to be brought from darkness into light.

The city of to-day therefore is not without its problems. In fact in the light of our present knowledge these problems seem more serious than ever before. We no longer say that since certain evils have always existed, they must always exist. The evil now challenges our skill, intelligence and genius and we make bold to root it out.

In the chapters that follow we set forth briefly the achievements wrought and problems solved in certain cities of Europe and America and endeavor to point out the way of progress for cities that have not yet attained the desired goal.

CHAPTER II

CITY PLANNING

CITY planning, as the term implies, is the science of designing cities. It includes the laying out of streets, boulevards and parkways; the location and arrangement of civic centers, squares, playgrounds and parks; the designing of sewers and water supply systems; the grouping of public buildings; the planning of river fronts, docks, terminals and stations; the determination of routes for trolley-lines, overhead railways, subways and steam roads; the division of cities into zones for the grouping of like industries and the separation of residential sections from those devoted to commerce and manufacturing; the regulation of the size of lots and the size and character of buildings; and many other matters pertaining to the development of cities.

The purpose of city planning is to make cities efficient and beautiful. The city is considered a physical unit and one part is planned with reference to all other parts. Communication between the various parts is made as direct and

as easy as possible. Public buildings are grouped in a central location often about a public square to form an attractive civic center. Factories are located near railroads, canals and rivers in order to facilitate the shipping and transporting of goods. The wholesale section is placed in close proximity to the freight terminals and the retail sections on the principal lines of communication between the suburbs and the center of the city. Thus the time, energy and expense of the citizens are economized and the parts of the city are coordinated so that each serves the whole.

The city is also made efficient from a sanitary point of view. The streets and squares are laid out in such a manner that each home is insured an ample supply of sunlight and fresh air. Proper drainage is secured and fresh water in abundance is supplied. The homes themselves are constructed to meet the most rigid sanitary requirements.

In planning the various parts of a city, beauty as well as efficiency is taken into account. A city must be pleasant to look upon. No matter what its other properties may be, if it is not beautiful it is unsatisfactory from the modern point of view. Modern city planning therefore gives an artistic finish to all its work. The result is the city efficient and the city beautiful.

CITY PLANNING

Although the beginning of the twentieth century has witnessed a marvelous development of interest in the planning and replanning of cities, city planning is not a new science. The oldest cities of which we know were laid out on a definite plan. According to Professor Petrie the recently excavated town of Kahun, built about 3000 B. C. for the workmen who were constructing the pyramid Illahun, was laid out symmetrically on rectangular lines. The ancient Greek cities were remarkable for the grandeur and magnificence with which they planned their temples and other public buildings. Conjectural restorations of some of these cities show that while the shops and dwelling-houses of the Greeks were comparatively insignificant, the public places and buildings were laid out on a scale that has never been surpassed. The skill of the landscape artist was combined with that of the architect as in modern city planning, and the effect produced was worthy of that nation of artists.

Of the early cities of Italy, Pompeii is the only one that has been preserved in its original condition. The uncovered walls and streets of this unfortunate city show that much intelligent effort had been put forth to make the town a fit place for the abode of human beings. The forum, or civic center of the town, was laid out on a magnificent scale and was sur-

rounded by costly temples and other public buildings. The streets of the city were narrow when judged by modern standards, but the principal thoroughfares were made wider than the residential streets. As the road-beds on many of the streets were not wide enough to permit one chariot to pass another, traffic regulations must have been strictly enforced. In its plan the Pompeiian street closely resembles the street of a modern city having a road-bed slightly elevated in the center, a curb on each side and sidewalks between the curbs and the buildings. The curbs and sidewalks are from two to three feet above the road-bed and at crossings large stone blocks are set in the road-bed at convenient distances to form stepping-stones for pedestrians. Stone drinking fountains are provided at convenient places along the street. The pavement is formed of unhewn blocks of stone and is rougher than any modern city would tolerate.

In striking contrast with Pompeii with its narrow streets, stands the city of Turin, a city of northern Italy originally laid out by the Emperor Augustus. This town has developed greatly in recent years, but its original rectangular street plan has been preserved. The width and beauty of the streets of Turin have given it distinction among Italian cities and have done much to enhance its prosperity and healthful-

ness. Turin's success forms a good illustration of the value to a town of a city plan of the right kind.

The medieval cities of Europe grew up in a time of great insecurity and disorder. A city in the dark days following the downfall of the Roman Empire was a place of refuge, an extended fortress which served more as a place of protection than as a home for its occupants. It is not to be wondered at that these towns of the middle ages were built exceedingly compact, with narrow streets and few open spaces. The town had to have a great wall about it and this wall had to be as short as possible. All other considerations had to give way to the necessity of securing proper protection.

If we examine, however, towns like Nuremberg, Rothenburg and Buttstedt, which still retain much of their medieval character, we find in spite of cramped conditions delightful picturesqueness and beauty. Whether these artistic effects are the result of foresight and planning, or were produced unconsciously by builders endowed with a keen sense of the fitness and proportion of things, is not known.

During the Renaissance period town planning underwent a transition. Irregularity gave way to formality in the layout of streets and squares. The influence of the Greek architecture was clearly evident. The more hopeful

aspect of life on the part of the people became manifest in enlarged conceptions of city plans. Princes vied with each other in laying out and embellishing towns within their jurisdiction, usually at the seat of government. The formal layouts of Karlsruhe and Mannheim are examples.

One of the most noteworthy plans of the seventeenth century was that prepared by Sir Christopher Wren for the reconstruction of London after the great fire of 1666. We quote the description of this great plan given by Mr. Elmes in his life of Sir Christopher Wren.

"In order therefore to a proper reformation Dr. Wren, pursuant to the Royal Command immediately after the fire, took an exact survey of the whole area and confines of the burning, having traced with great trouble and hazard the great plain of ashes and ruins, and designed a plan or model of a new city in which the deformities and inconveniences of the old town were remedied by enlarging the streets and lands, and carrying them as near parallel to one another as might be; avoiding if compatible with greater conveniences all acute angles, by seating all the parochial churches conspicuous and insular, by forming the most public places into large piazzas the centers of eight ways; by uniting the halls of twelve chief companies into one regular space annexed to the Guildhall;

by making a commodious quay on the whole bank of the river from Blackfriars to the Tower. Moreover in contriving the general plan the following particulars were chiefly considered and proposed:

"The streets to be of three magnitudes; the three principal leading straight through the city, and one or two cross streets to be at least 90 feet wide; others 60 feet and lanes about 30 feet, excluding all narrow dark alleys without thoroughfares and courts. The Exchange to stand free in the middle of a piazza and be as it were the nave or center of the town, from whence the 60 feet streets as so many ways should proceed to all principal parts of the city; the building to be contrived after the form of the Roman Forum with double porticoes. Many streets also to radiate upon the bridge. The streets of the first and second magnitude to be carried on as straight as possible and to center in four or five piazzas.

"The Key or open Wharf on the banks of the Thames to be spacious and convenient, without any interruption and with some large docks for deep laden barges.

"The Canal to be cut up Bridewell 120 feet wide, with sashes (sluices or floodgates) at Holborn Bridge and at the mouth to cleanse it of all filth, and stores for coal on each side. The churches to be designed according to the

best forms for capacity and hearing, adorned with useful porticoes and lofty ornamental towers and steeples in the greater parishes. All church yards, gardens and unnecessary vacuities and all trades that use great fires or yield noisesome smells to be placed out of the town."

The narrow vision or selfishness of the property owners of London prevented the adoption of Wren's plan. They feared to trust a public commission even temporarily and consequently that great city lost an opportunity that, had it been seized, would have saved millions of pounds in alterations and greatly promoted the convenience of its citizens for all succeeding generations.

The city of Washington, D. C., is probably the most conspicuous example of a city that has consistently followed in its development a plan that was laid out at the beginning of its life as a city. After the site of the national capitol had been chosen in the spring of 1791, Pierre Charles L'Enfant, a French engineer, who had done service in the Revolutionary war was chosen to prepare a plan of the town. With rare vision L'Enfant made a design that not only met with the approval of Washington and of the commissioners in charge, but meets the approval of the expert city planners of the present day.

The groundwork of the plan is formed by a

series of streets running east and west, crossed at right angles by another series running north and south. These rectangular streets are intersected by twenty-one avenues running diagonally through the city and converging at the Capitol, the White House and other centers and squares. As the streets are of generous width and the open squares large and numerous, the city has become famous throughout the world for its convenience and beauty.

About the middle of the nineteenth century the city of Paris, France, undertook to remodel its plan to meet the requirements of its growth and its increased traffic and commerce. Under Napoleon III as emperor, and Baron Haussmann as prefect of the Seine, an elaborate modification of the city was undertaken. The planning of the work was placed in charge of M. Deschamps and he was given the title of "Conservateur du Plan de Paris." The splendid boulevards of modern Paris, the convenience and beauty of the city are due in a very large measure to the breadth of vision of M. Deschamps. His work was characterized by great boldness and courage. When it was once determined that a broad, straight avenue was needed to take the place of narrow, crooked streets, nothing was permitted to stand in the way of the execution of the plan. The expense incurred was enormous, but there was no other

way to secure the desired results. Deschamps' planning was along formal lines and on a magnificent scale. While it has often been stated that the main purpose in making the new avenues broad and straight was to facilitate the handling of troops thereon, such purpose is now considered as having been subordinate to that of promoting the beauty of the city and the convenience of the citizens. One noteworthy feature of the plan was the converging of avenues into places, the center of which was ornamented with imposing monuments. This arrangement made possible the splendid vistas for which Paris is noted and which appeal so greatly to the pride of the Parisians. Paris remade, resembles Washington in its plan, but it secured only through enormous sacrifice what Washington secured by the exercise of a rare degree of foresight.

Vienna is another capital that has been made over during the past half century. Up to 1858 Vienna was a walled city. As the city had increased greatly in size since the walls were built, the enclosed part of the town was sorely congested. Rents had become excessive and sanitary conditions were almost intolerable. Just outside the city walls was a moat and surrounding the moat was a strip of unoccupied territory known as the glacis, which was kept bare for military purposes. Beyond the glacis

was a series of suburbs which formed an almost complete circle about the central town. In the last days of 1857 after a prolonged discussion it was decided to destroy the fortifications. The Austrian government took charge of the matter and a transformation such as few cities have ever witnessed was undertaken. The walls were thrown into the moat, the ground graded and a magnificent *ringstrasse* was constructed entirely around the old town. Four-fifths of the land occupied by walls, moat and glacis were reserved for public purposes. One-fifth was cut up into streets and sold to private parties. The reserved part was cut up into parks and sites for public buildings. Magnificent structures were erected which have become famous throughout the world for their beauty of architecture and location. This *ringstrasse* is now considered by many to be the finest street in the world. Perhaps the most noteworthy feature of this whole improvement was the fact that the money received for the lots sold covered the cost of the entire improvement.

The remarkable growth of cities throughout the world during the past quarter century has impelled a closer study of city life and a better adaptation of means to ends in the construction of cities. Paris and Vienna met problems a half century ago that most flourishing cities have since been compelled to meet to a greater

or lesser degree. The Italian cities, Genoa, Naples, Rome and Milan have each spent many million dollars in the effort to live an enlarged life in accordance with modern standards. In Germany, France and England likewise there has been a gradual transformation of old towns into modern cities.

The town planner therefore has been more in demand than ever before and the science of town planning has consequently undergone a remarkable development. M. Deschamps' transformation of Paris along formal geometric lines served as a model to other European planners for a score of years. In the year 1889, however, there appeared a work on the building of cities written by Camillo Sitte that presented an entirely different theory from that followed by Deschamps. Sitte, by a study of medieval towns, reached the conclusion that more picturesque effects could be produced by less regularity and by a freer use of curved and diagonal lines. His book "Der Städtebau" gave rise to what is known as the informal school of city planners. This school differs from the formal school in its avoidance of uniform rectangular blocks and of formal geometric figures in the layout of streets, parks and open places.

While Sitte's work has greatly influenced city planning in all parts of the world it is only in Germany that his ideas have been fully car-

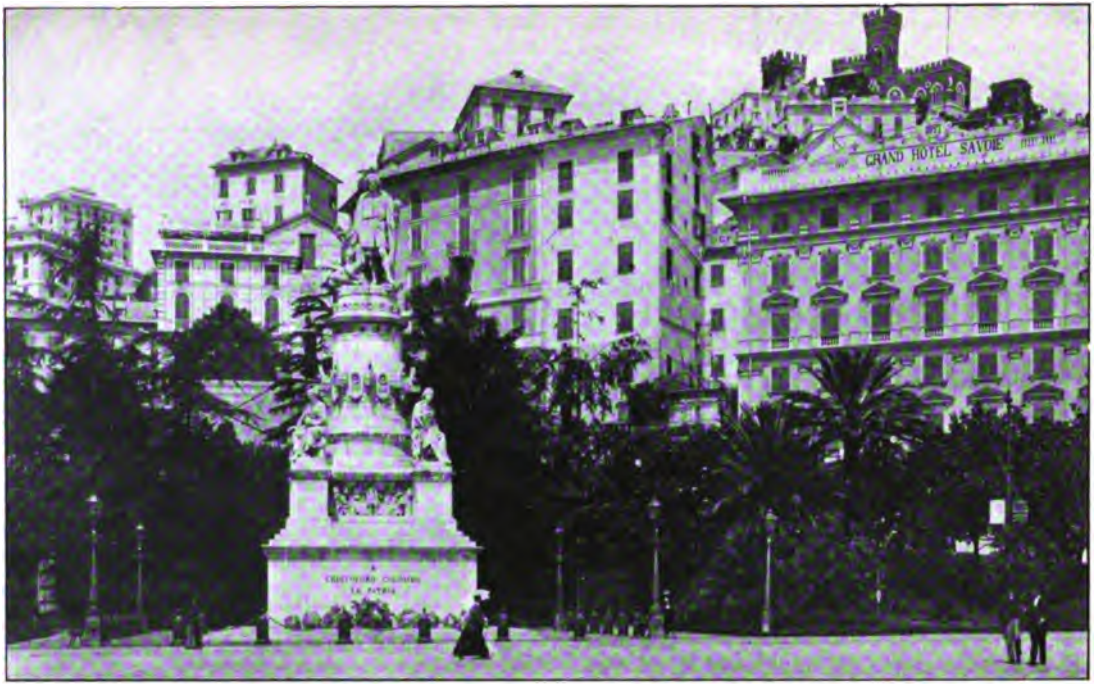
ried out. In America there has been a strong tendency to follow the checkerboard or gridiron plan in the building of cities. This was the plan William Penn used in designing Philadelphia and it has been adopted with little variation in the majority of American cities built since that time. While the newer plans for American cities show considerable departure from the usual type there is still a great contrast between the German and the American plans.

While much may be said in favor of both the formal and the informal types of plans, the adoption of the one or the other in a given place would depend very largely on the traditions of the community and the physical characteristics of the site. A level site with no obstructions lends itself readily to a formal layout; on the other hand, a hilly site, or one bordered with a curving stream, invites irregularity. It must be remembered that formality or informality are not ends in themselves, but merely means of securing certain types of beauty and perhaps other necessary or desirable results. The health, comfort and convenience of the people who are to occupy the site are always the first considerations. Beauty must also be obtained, but it should have a secondary place. The best results will probably be secured, not by a strict adherence to any one school but by using the best possible combination of ideas in any given case.

Centers, Squares and Places

The life of the ancient Greek and Roman cities centered in the agora or forum, the place of public assemblies, of musical festivals, of public speaking. About a great square adorned with statuary and triumphal monuments stood the temples of justice and the temples of the gods. Here were brought together the splendor and magnificence of the city. Another open place of the ancient city no less essential to its well-being, but far less costly in its structure, was the public market-place. These two open squares of the early city were the fore-types of the modern civic center, public square and market-place. The last named has come down through the ages essentially unchanged.

In the modern city, however, there have arisen many new types of places and squares, serving a variety of purposes. The modern civic center preserves something of the idea of the Roman forum, but it is not so much a meeting-place as an architectural square for the effective grouping of public buildings. Modern city planning places great emphasis on the civic center and many elaborate types are now in course of construction in this country. In addition to the main civic center of a town, there are also being created subordinate civic centers for the various localities which make up the city.



THE PIAZZA ACQUA VERDI IN GENOA

The statue here shown is that of Christopher Columbus. The square lies immediately in front of the principal railway station of Genoa

At a convenient point in such a locality, there are grouped the public and semi-public buildings that serve the immediate needs of the community. Schools, fire stations, police stations, churches and social clubs are harmoniously arranged in this way. The convenience of the people is thus served and the beauty of the locality greatly enhanced.

The open square, or place at the junction of several roads, owes its popularity to its effective use in Paris. In M. Deschamps' plan the great boulevards were made to end in "places" at the center of which imposing monuments were erected. The circulation of traffic was thus facilitated and a large number of splendid vistas created; these have done much to increase the city's reputation for beauty. In the Place de l'Etoile, for example, twelve splendid boulevards come together and end at the magnificent Arc de Triomphe which adorns the center of the open place.

Other types of open places are those used to prevent congestion and to form suitable approaches to public buildings. An open space of this kind between the railroad station and the street is of the greatest service in enabling passengers to get their bearings and in avoiding the crowding of vehicles of all kinds. On the continent of Europe where the railroads are owned by the state, almost invariably an open

place leads up to the railroad station. In this country the railroad square is not so common, but its utility is everywhere recognized. A spacious approach to public buildings sets off their architectural features and gives them due prominence. As large crowds frequently visit such buildings the open space about them also serves to prevent congestion.

In tenement sections open squares are frequently introduced as playgrounds or recreation centers. They furnish safe places for children to play in and by giving opportunities for adults to rest in the open air, greatly promote the health of the neighborhood. It is now generally agreed that a large number of small parks and play-grounds of this character are to be preferred to a few large parks. The small park or open square close at hand will be used, while many people will not take the time or trouble to go a long distance to get the benefit of a larger park.

In order that street-car traffic may be facilitated, modern city planners are providing for trolley centers, or arterial centers, as they are sometimes called. Usually a paved open square is utilized. The various street-car lines run into the square and each line has its definite stopping place from which an exchange of passengers takes place. A well-arranged center of this kind, with a covered waiting-room as well as

THE NEW CITY HALL IN LEIPZIG

A large public building is here effectively placed at the junction of several streets

open-air seats and with a manager in charge to post or announce the departure of the cars of the various lines, greatly promotes the convenience of all those who use the trolleys and is of assistance to the stranger who is unfamiliar with the system. Such a trolley center is best placed near the heart of the retail district of the city or in close proximity to the principal railroad station and should be so constructed that it will not block the streets or in any way cause congestion.

Much discussion has arisen among city planners as to the most effective method of arrangement for public buildings and monuments in city streets and squares. Most of the open places of medieval cities are dominated by great buildings, usually a cathedral. Whether intentionally planned or not, many of these places are arranged so that effective views of the cathedral may be had from any point about the square. The entrances of the streets into the square are also arranged so that an impression of an enclosure is produced. The Piazza San Marco of Venice is a notably successful place of this kind. The center of the little German town of Buttstedt is another familiar illustration of the same idea. The new city hall of Leipzig is so placed that it affords pleasing views from several streets. The use of a monument or an obelisk in the center of a square as employed in Paris, is op-

posed by Camillo Sitte, who believes that more effective pictures may be produced by placing monuments at or near the corners.

In planning a civic center in most American cities our experts have usually arranged for a broad esplanade, or parkway, flanked by minor public buildings leading to the capitol or principal building. When the landscape artist's work is well done and the buildings are harmoniously designed, a most inspiring picture is produced. The magnificent effects in stucco and landscape-gardening at the Chicago World's Fair showed the marvelous results that may be secured when the artist is given a free hand. This temporary city proved an inspiration to city builders in all parts of the world.

The Street System

In making plans for a new town the first thing to determine is the center. If a town is to have a railroad, the determination of its course and the location of the station are the next considerations. When these matters are settled the streets may be laid out. Many different systems are used in laying out highways for a town. The American system following the plan of William Penn for Philadelphia has been that of a trellis work consisting of a series of streets running parallel in one direction and crossed at right angles by another parallel se-

ries. Such a trellis system divides the town into rectangular blocks, the most convenient form for division into building lots. When considered from the standpoint of convenience to traffic, however, the trellis system is found lacking. When streets run at right angles to one another much of the traffic must travel two sides of a triangle in order to reach its destination; hence a modification of the trellis system is made by the use of diagonal streets. This was done with good effect in the plan of Washington, D. C. While these diagonal streets greatly facilitate traffic, they are open to objection on account of the many irregular building lots and useless triangular areas produced.

The ideal system of streets worked out by modern city planners is one resembling the web of a spider. From the center of the town a series of radiating streets are constructed like the spokes of a wheel running out from the hub. Cross streets are constructed on curved or rectangular lines to fill in the space between the radiating streets. There are also straight highways cut across the wheel at various points so that one may go directly from one side of the town to the other. At appropriate distances from the center broad ring streets forming complete circles may be constructed. Such an ideal system would not be possible except in a comparatively level district where the town could

be laid out without reference to existing structures or the ownership of plots. Usually the design of the street system is restricted by various natural conditions such as rivers, hills and ravines and the work of the planner is further limited by the necessity of fitting his design to a system already long in use. The spider-web system, however, is of great value as an ideal and in new towns or the newer sections of established towns much may be done to introduce approximations of the ideal that will greatly facilitate traffic.

The determination of the width and character of streets is a matter of the highest importance. To do this successfully a planner must know something of the volume of traffic that is likely to pass through any thoroughfare. In a new town the traffic may be required to follow the street prepared for it, but in older towns the habits of the people are not easily changed. William Penn, in designing Philadelphia, made Market and Broad Streets wider than the others in order that these two thoroughfares might become the leading business streets of the city. The business of the city, however, did not follow the scheme as Penn anticipated. For many years some of the narrower streets were more active thoroughfares than Market Street.

The streets take up a large portion of the land of a city and their construction and maintenance

involve great expense. It follows therefore that they should be planned to meet the requirements in any particular case. The construction of broad paved streets where they are unnecessary is almost as serious a mistake as the construction of narrow streets where the traffic requires broad ones. The principal thoroughfares of a city should be wide enough to carry easily all the traffic which will pass over them. The minor business streets can be made narrower and the paved part of residence streets still narrower. No fixed general rules can be set down as to the desirable width of streets, but as street pavement itself adds nothing to the beauty or value of a city and is costly to construct and maintain, it is clear it should not be laid if not necessary. In residence sections the plan of having a narrow macadam roadway with wide grass plots in front of the houses on each side is a most excellent one. This method of construction is not expensive and permits the paved portion of the street to be widened in case conditions in the city change so as to require it. The tendency in most cities has been to make the paved surface of the street wider than necessary and to build the houses close to the sidewalk. This system of construction is unnecessarily expensive and is unsatisfactory from an esthetic and sanitary standpoint.

The actual construction of streets is not usu-

ally considered a part of a city planner's work, but the success of the plan will depend very largely upon the working out of details such as the paving of the streets, the laying of the sidewalks, etc. Certain requirements should be insisted upon. The number of poles in a street should be reduced to the minimum. No wires except those necessary for the trolley-lines should be strung above ground. All piping and wiring should be in galleries at the side of the street between the curb and sidewalk or underneath the sidewalk, or in the rear of the lots. Streets should be adorned with lines of trees wherever possible and great care should be taken to produce uniformity in the trees so planted. While in some cities a variety of trees are used on different streets, the trees of one street should be of the same variety and as near as possible of the same age. On broad streets effective results are produced by planting rows of trees through the middle of the street. Sometimes a pleasant promenade through the middle of the street may be bordered by trees. Sometimes the width of the street will permit two double rows of trees as in the Avenue de la Grande Armée in Paris. Where a street can be divided by trees in this way, it is desirable to have a road in the center for the fast-going vehicles and roads on the side

for the market wagons and other slow-moving vehicles.

The arrangement of street intersections is usually given less attention than it deserves. In most American cities the corners are square and there is no modification of the buildings at the corners. In European cities much greater variety is seen. Very picturesque effects are produced in the old Gothic towns by the use of small irregular places at street junctions. Sometimes a triangular place is formed by the meeting of three streets, more often a larger number of streets enter the place. Although the layout seems entirely irregular, the street pictures produced are full of charm. The modern German town planners are imitating the Gothic towns in this respect, and are making a special effort to secure pleasing street views. The work is commendable so long as the desired results are produced without interfering with traffic and the general convenience of the citizens. No one who has visited a medieval town like Berne can fail to appreciate the charm that may come from such apparent irregularity.

Street junctions in busy parts of a city are likely to be places of congestion. When the streets meet at right angles one line of traffic interferes with the other, and if the traffic is heavy the two lines must use the crossing alter-

nately. This makes necessary the presence of an officer and considerable delay to vehicles. As a means of overcoming such congestion and delay, it has been suggested that at the intersection of busy thoroughfares the traffic be made to go around a central monument. This idea is in practice at the Place de l'Etoile, in Paris, where twelve great boulevards meet. The traffic passes without interruption about the Arc de Triomphe. There are no collisions and no officer is required to direct the traffic. While such an arrangement would not always be possible, congestion at corners can generally be relieved by careful planning.

Site Planning

In plotting the street system the city planner is working for the entire community and necessarily must work out a plan that will form a symmetrical whole. Each part must harmonize with every other part. There may be variety to fit local conditions, but unity of plan must never be forgotten. In site planning the designer usually works for an individual or real estate company and has a definite task assigned him. The design he works out may harmonize with others in the immediate vicinity or it may not. Where the holdings of land are small and there are few general restrictions, the result is far from a happy one. On one plot the build-

ings may be small and crowded, on the next perhaps ample grounds will surround the dwellings, while on the third tall apartment houses may be built. Instances of this kind are common enough in America where the municipality exercises little control over the plotting of sites or the erection of buildings, but would hardly be possible in Europe, where the interests of the whole community are more carefully guarded. In some of the German cities the zone system has been adopted. Under this system the purposes to which the land may be put in any locality are limited and the nature of the structures which may be erected thereon is clearly defined. Factories are allotted certain sections and cannot be built elsewhere in the city. The wholesale business receives another allotment and residences others. It is clear that if the zones are laid out in a rational manner, the interests of the whole community will be subserved and the city will be made more efficient and more beautiful.

In the garden cities of England, such as Letchworth and Hampstead, the site of the town was purchased by a company and the town was laid out as a whole with reservations for public and semi-public buildings, parks, playgrounds and civic centers. The location of factories, business houses and stations was designated and the sites of the residences were care-

fully planned. The result has been highly gratifying from every point of view. The convenience and comfort of the citizens have been promoted, a high degree of beauty has been obtained and the health of the communities has become far famed.

When these garden cities are compared with towns that have grown up without planning, the value of city planning becomes evident. In the one the needs of community life are recognized and provided for; in the other the community is ignored and each individual is left to follow his own initiative. In the one a high measure of comfort is assured the individual by his taking the proper place in the community; in the other individuals clash in their efforts to promote self-interest, with the result that a few secure the desired comforts at the expense and disadvantage of many.

CHAPTER III

HOME PLANNING—THE HOUSING PROBLEM

CLOSELY allied to city planning is home planning—the problem of securing sanitary and comfortable homes for all the people. City planning deals with the city as a unit and aims to secure coordination between the various parts, and to make each part contribute to the welfare of the whole. Home planning deals with the family as a unit and promotes the health and well-being of the community by properly housing each family. Without city planning urban home planning could never be a complete success, and without home planning city planning would fall short of its goal. A handsome tree-bordered street built up with wretched hovels would be as anomalous as a dirty, forlorn and treeless street fronting a series of beautiful villas. City planning that provides convenient, well laid out streets, good drainage, good water, light and access to public service utilities, such as gas, electricity, telephones and trolley-cars, makes the comfortable home possible. It stops there, leaving the rest

to the site planner, the architect and the builder. The work of the city planner is directly for the community as a whole and only indirectly for the individual lot owners, while the work of the home planner is directly for the individual lot owners and only indirectly for the community as a whole.

Some cities in times past have acted on the principle that the erection of houses by owners of city lots was not at all a community matter; that so long as the builder kept within the limits of his own property, he might build to suit himself. This principle of non-interference is responsible for much bad housing in America. The rest is due to ignorance, poverty and greed. In Europe the need of restricting the individual for the good of the community was recognized earlier than in America, but fortunately Americans have had a great advantage in possessing plenty of land and a fair degree of wealth. On the whole, therefore, we are not worse off in our homes than our European neighbors.

In the modern survivors of ancient and medieval cities, the influence of war on the housing of the people is still clearly evident. The danger of attack from without made necessary a protective wall, the building of which entailed a great burden upon the town. The city wall had to be made as short as possible. To accommodate the people inside the wall streets had

VICO TACCONI IN GENOA

This street runs through one of the older parts of Genoa and illustrates housing conditions at their worst

to be narrow and buildings comparatively high. Open spaces for yards, public squares and parks were greatly restricted. Room could not be spared inside the walls for anything that was not deemed absolutely necessary. The old parts of the city of Genoa furnish a good illustration of such compact building in medieval days. Here was a double reason for crowding buildings together. The hills in Genoa rose abruptly from the sea, so that great difficulty was experienced in preparing level sites. High retaining walls had to be built and extensive excavations made, in order to lay out streets and build thereon. A great city wall also had to be constructed. The Genoese, on account of these conditions, produced a town that has rarely been equaled for compactness. Houses five or six stories in height were built solidly along streets from eight to twenty-five feet wide. Columbus spent his boyhood in a five-story house, ten feet wide, built on a street only nineteen feet in width. No reliable statistics are obtainable to show the actual density of Genoa in the time of Columbus, but judging from present indications it must have exceeded that of any modern city. Genoa is now laboring strenuously to overcome the handicap of medieval conditions and to transform itself into a high class twentieth century city.

The old parts of Naples furnish another typi-

cal example of compact building. Here extreme poverty made conditions worse than in Genoa. The one-room dwellings of Naples, owing to their openness to inspection by travelers, have become notorious throughout the world. Here, in a single room with a door opening directly on the street, may be seen all of the paraphernalia necessary for the housekeeping of a family, including the kitchen ware, tables, beds, bureaus, etc. Here people are born, eat, sleep and die in one room. During the past fifteen years conditions with respect to housing in Naples have greatly improved, but one-room dwellings are still numerous.

The contrast with respect to housing conditions between old and new sections in such cities as Leipzig, Vienna, Florence and Rome, is very marked. In Leipzig and Vienna magnificent *ringstrassen* have been constructed by tearing down the old walls and filling up the moats. Inside the *ringstrasse* is the old compact town with its narrow streets and high, solidly built houses. Outside the *ringstrasse* is the new town with broader streets and more open spaces. The habit of building houses in block is persistent with Europeans in general, although in wealthy sections villa houses are gradually being introduced. In crowded sections of the old cities, streets are necessarily treeless and barren, but in new sections planting is indulged

in to a considerable extent. One notable example is seen in new parts of Naples, which with flourishing foliage form a delightful contrast to old sections near the bay.

Although many of the large European cities have the disadvantage of being built upon a medieval base, their housing conditions are not in the main worse than those of the large cities of America. The closely built new sections of European cities are probably better constructed than similar sections of most American cities, but the beautiful, detached single-family house, set back from the street and surrounded by a spacious lawn, a type common to the best residence streets of American cities, is almost entirely lacking on the continent of Europe. Occasionally a street lined with handsome villas, each with its walled yard, is found in European cities, but the large many-family house is the prevailing type.

In an interesting chapter of his "Municipal Government in Europe," Albert Shaw describes housing conditions in Berlin in 1885. In that year the statistical bureau of the city made a study of housing conditions in their relation to health and laid the foundation for the housing reforms that followed. It was found that out of a total population of 1,315,000, 73,000 were living in one-room dwellings, 382,000 in two-room dwellings, 432,000 in three-room dwell-

ings, and 398,000 in four-room dwellings. The startling facts revealed by this investigation related to the death-rate. It was found that the death-rate among the one-room dwellers was about seven and one-third times as great as among the two-room dwellers, twenty-three times as great as among the three-room dwellers and thirty times as great as among the more than four-room dwellers. Although numbering only about one-eighteenth of the entire population of the city, the inhabitants of the one-room tenements suffered nearly one-half the total number of deaths. Their death-rate for the year was 168.5 per thousand, while that of the two-room dwellers was 22.5, that of the three-room dwellers 7.5, and that of the families who were fortunate to occupy four rooms or more was only 5.4. The facts brought out were so convincing that the municipality was compelled to take action to secure better housing conditions.

A somewhat similar study of housing conditions and mortality was made in 1871 in Budapest by the city statistician, Mr. Körösi. At that time the general death-rate of the city was about 45 per thousand. Mr. Körösi found that a large part of the people of the city was living in crowded quarters and that many cellars were used as dwellings. The facts brought out gave

COTTAGES FOR WORKING PEOPLE IN ROME

These houses were designed, some for one, others for two, families, and were erected by the Municipal Housing Corporation of Rome

rise to housing reform measures by which conditions were gradually improved.

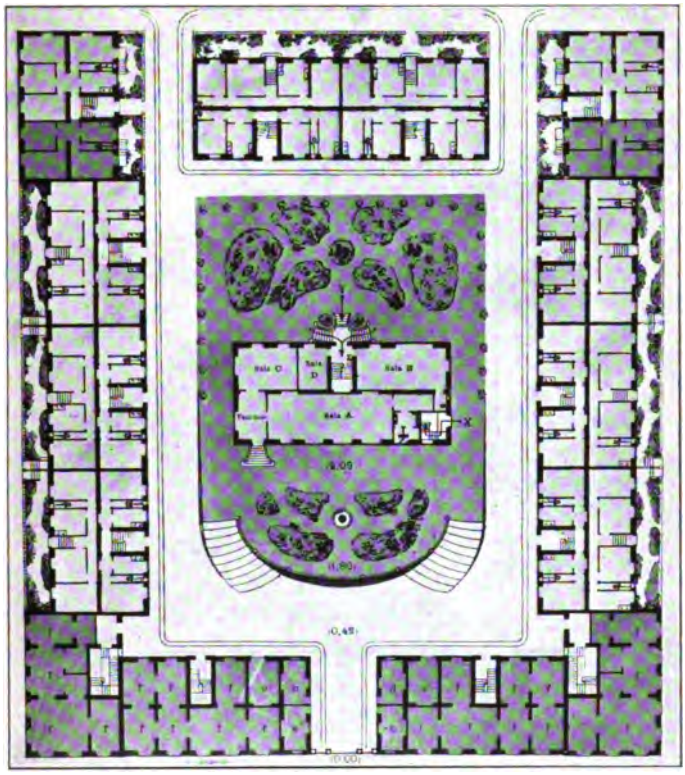
The prevailing type of tenement in Budapest is a one-story structure, partitioned off into dwellings of one room each. In 1891, 61.7 per cent of all the dwellings were of this one-room type, while 20.8 per cent were dwellings of two rooms. In spite of this overcrowding, the introduction of better sanitary measures and the abolition of cellar dwellings has resulted in a marked lowering of the death-rate. In 1876, the rate of mortality per thousand was 41; in 1885, 29.4; in 1892, 27.9; in 1895, 24.4; in 1901-1905, 19.8; in 1909, 19.21.

One of the most successful attempts to improve housing conditions has been made in the city of Rome. When the capital of Italy was moved from Turin to Rome, in 1870, a rapid increase in population in the imperial city followed. Although extensive building operations were carried on, the new houses did not keep pace with the incoming population, and as a consequence much crowding took place. Families were compelled to live in single rooms and to occupy unsafe and insanitary buildings. Conditions became so bad that the city administration was aroused and an effort was made to secure better homes for the poor. The municipal council passed an ordinance remitting the

taxes of new tenements for two years. It also provided for the formation of a corporation to undertake the building of model tenements as a philanthropic enterprise. The directors of this municipal tenement building corporation are appointed by the municipal council and serve without salary. The funds to be used in building the tenements are loaned to the corporation by the city, under an arrangement whereby the money is to be returned to the city in fifty years. The directors provide for the building, maintenance and renting of the tenements. From the income received they pay the city 3 per cent interest on the amount loaned and make small annual payments on the principal.

Senator Franchetti, one of the leading statesmen of Italy, is president of the municipal company and is unselfishly devoting much of his time to promoting its interests. The company has already built several groups of tenements and the scheme is proving successful both from a social and financial standpoint.

The genius of Rome's new tenements, however, is Engineer Edoardo Talamo, Superintendent of the Institute of Good Homes, a building corporation that has recently constructed a large number of tenements. Talamo is a man of unusual ability and has made a thorough study of housing conditions. His



GROUND PLAN FOR A GROUP OF LOW-RENTAL TENEMENTS IN ROME, AS DESIGNED BY EDWARD TALAMO

genius bids fair to revolutionize housing conditions in his city.

The houses built by Talamo's company are as a rule five-story tenements, so arranged in groups as to enclose a common yard. The tenements are built in three grades, the lowest grade for the families of the ordinary unskilled workmen, the second grade for the families of skilled workmen and the highest grade for people with good incomes. The plan followed in each case is the same. All the tenements conform to the most approved sanitary requirements. The location of the lowest class tenements, however, is not the best, and the number of rooms to a dwelling is limited to three or four. In the better class tenements, dwellings of five or six rooms are the rule. The buildings are constructed of brick and the floors of tile. The rooms are well lighted by windows opening on the street or a large yard, and each dwelling is provided with a sanitary water-closet. A caretaker, who is continually on duty, is provided for each group of tenements. In the larger groups the principal caretaker is provided with one or more assistants.

Talamo's aim has been to foster a community life in each group so that a genuine home spirit might prevail. To this end he has set apart several rooms for the common use of the tenants. One of these rooms is fitted up as a library and

reading room and furnished with books and magazines. It is maintained at the expense of the company and the tenants are free to use it at will. Another room is fitted up as a sewing room. In this room the company provides sewing machines which are run by electricity. The house-wives bring in their sewing and are able to visit with their neighbors while providing clothes for the family. A trifling fee is charged for the use of the machines. Another room serves as a store-house for bicycles and baby-carriages. There is also a bathing establishment provided with an apartment for men and another for women. Cold baths are free to tenants and warm baths are furnished for a small fee.

In order to safeguard the lives of the tenants a room is fitted up on the main floor as a physician's office and dispensary, and a graduate physician is placed in charge. The medicines in the dispensary and the advice of the physician are free to tenants. However, if the physician is required to call on a patient in one of the dwellings, a fee of twenty cents a call is charged. A small hospital where patients suffering from contagious diseases may be isolated is also provided. The presence of a physician who can give immediate attention to the ills of the tenants and who can promptly check any outbreak of a contagious disease has a remarkable

influence on the health of the community. In one tenement-group containing 600 people there were but four deaths during a year, a rate of less than seven per thousand. While the figures for other groups were not available, it is probable that an equal degree of healthfulness obtains.

The most noteworthy feature of these tenements, however, is the school for children between the ages of three and seven years, which is maintained either in a room on the principal floor of one of the tenements or in a small house in the court-yard. The schools are of the Montessori type and have attracted wide attention. A full description of these schools is given in the chapter on "Recent Developments in Education." [1]

Although a caretaker is always on duty to see that everything in connection with the tenements is in good order, Talamo takes special pains to enlist the interest of the tenants in the up-keep of the property. To this end he is offering a series of prizes for the best kept dwellings in the group. These prizes stimulate tenants to maintain a high standard of neatness and to safeguard the property of the company, and at the same time have the effect of greatly reducing the bill of expense for repairs.

[1] See Chapter XIII, p. 250.

The up-keep of the tenements under Talamo's charge is only a small item compared with that of the ordinary tenements.

The municipal company is following Talamo's example. It has adopted his methods of management, and although it has not succeeded in securing a manager with Talamo's genius, its tenements are in much better condition than those ordinarily found in the city.

Not many cities in America have made careful investigations of housing conditions, but those which have conducted such investigations have found many things to be corrected. One of the most noteworthy attempts has been the establishment of the tenement-house department of New York City. Before 1900 the standards of tenement-house construction in New York were very low and the city exercised but little supervision over the erection of buildings. As a consequence, there were built in many parts of the city whole blocks of tenements which, although having a respectable or even attractive outside appearance, were lacking in many of the essentials of good homes. Halls were narrow and dark, bed-rooms were without windows or air-shafts, toilet facilities were inadequate, fire-escapes were lacking and no provisions for ventilation were made. In some cases the only toilet facilities were school sinks in the rear of the tenements, which when the

A TENEMENT COURTYARD IN ROME BEFORE AND AFTER THE TRANSFORMATION EFFECTED BY EDWARD TALAMO

building was fully occupied were usually in a filthy condition. The new tenement-house law, enacted in 1901, raised the standards of construction, restricted the height of buildings and the amount of space on a lot that could be occupied by a building, required that all rooms should have windows, that adequate toilet facilities should be provided and that proper fire-escapes be placed on buildings.

The department that was organized to enforce this law has done splendid work. In 1903, after having made an investigation of conditions, it issued a report which showed how serious were housing evils in the great metropolis. The inspectors found animals harbored in tenement cellars, loads of filth thrown into back-yards, basements and cellars and school sinks too horrible to describe. In many cases people afflicted with infectious and contagious diseases were associating freely with the other inhabitants of the tenement. The publishing of this report opened the eyes of the people of New York and created sufficient public sentiment to enforce the new law properly. The tenements built since the new law went into effect maintain a high standard of sanitation. While many of them are not free from crowding, no insanitary conditions exist on account of the structure of the buildings. The insanitary conditions that now exist in New York

are found in old tenements that have not been reconstructed, or are due to the negligence of tenants occupying new houses.

As an illustration of the influence of proper regulation of tenement-house buildings, the 1909 report of the Tenement House Department of New York draws a comparison between the three-story tenements that are under the tenement-house law and the two-story houses that are not included in the legal definition of a tenement-house. In the three-story buildings all of the rooms have windows opening on the street or yard, the hallways are light and adequate and fire-escapes are provided. In the two-story houses there are usually two sleeping-rooms without windows or other means for light and ventilation. The hallways are commonly dark and no fire-escapes are provided. Although the two-story flats rent at a higher rate than the three-story ones, the latter are greatly to be preferred from a sanitary and esthetic point of view. The one complies with recognized standards, while the other is constructed to make dividends for the landlord.

Companies building houses in the suburbs have attempted for several years to amend the tenement-house law so as to exclude the three-story house from its provisions. It is

unlikely, however, that such a backward step will be taken.

The city of Washington, D. C., famous the world over for its magnificent avenues and broad tree-lined streets, has had a difficult housing problem to contend with. After the Civil War many slaves deserted Southern plantations and took refuge in Washington and Georgetown. They came friendless and barehanded. Collecting bits of lumber from army camps, hospitals and buildings that were being torn down, they built shacks and shanties in alleys and by-places, regardless of health or sanitary conveniences. Between 30,000 and 40,000 came and settled in this way within a period of about five years. The effect of their insanitary mode of life became painfully evident during the small-pox epidemic of 1871-72. Among the colored population one in 38 was afflicted, while among the whites the ratio of cases was only one to 225. The death-rate of 1875, which was 21.04 among the whites and 42.86 among the negroes, furnished sad testimony of a like character.

In 1872 a board of health, created by an act of Congress, took active measures to improve housing conditions. Many buildings were inspected and those found to be unfit for habitation were condemned. The process of weeding

out the poorer houses was continued with success up to 1878, when Congress abolished the board of health and created the office of health officer. In 1880 the right of condemnation of insanitary houses was taken from the health department. From this time until 1892 nothing was done for the amelioration of housing conditions. In the latter year a law restricting and regulating the building of houses in alleys was passed. In 1895, an organization, known as the Civic Center, carried on a house-to-house investigation of living conditions in the alleys. In all 85 alleys and 191 dwellings were visited. Many of the houses inspected were without water or sewer connections, most of them were surrounded with insanitary conditions, many were overcrowded, and crime and immorality were found prevalent. It was also learned that the rents paid by the occupants of the alley houses were much higher than the accommodations would justify.

The committee of the Civic Center who had charge of the investigations recommended that when practicable the alleys should be converted into minor streets and places; that alleys that could not be cut through and widened to at least 30 feet should be condemned as unfit for human habitation; that all alleys and alley houses should be subjected to a thorough official investigation; that houses should be made to con-

form to a reasonable sanitary standard, and that houses unfit for human habitation should be condemned. As an outcome of the investigation and the general agitation of the subject, in April, 1897, a corporation known as the Washington Sanitary Improvement Company, was chartered under the laws of the State of Virginia. This company proceeded to build two-flat houses of three or four rooms each. A high standard of construction was adopted. Each flat was complete, having a separate entrance and exit, separate yard, cellar and bathroom. First-class plumbing was installed and ample provision for light and ventilation was made. Each kitchen was provided with a range and a hot-water boiler. The three-room flats were rented for $9.50 and $10.00 per month and the four-room flats for $12 to $12.50 per month. A rebate of one month's rent every year was granted to tenants whose flat did not require any repairs. In case any repairs were required they were deducted from the rebate. Eight houses were built by the company the first season. As success attended the efforts of the company from the first, additional houses were built until the number reached 200.

Although the aim of the promoters of the company was to provide better homes for alley dwellers and those living under the worst conditions, the new houses built by the company

were rented by the better classes of laborers. The houses vacated by these were occupied by people that had previously lived in poorer ones, and so on down the scale. The complete effect was the moving into better quarters of a much larger number of people than could be accommodated in the homes built by the company. In 1907 the assets of the company were $704,088.41 and the surplus was $74,238.41. The company has paid dividends at the rate of 5 per cent per annum regularly each year since its organization.

In 1904, General George M. Sternberg, the guiding spirit of the Washington Sanitary Improvement Company, organized a new company under the name of the Washington Sanitary Housing Company. This new corporation was to pay but 4 per cent dividends and was to devote its energies to building dwellings for day-laborers, laundresses and other humble wage-earners. The plans have been fully carried out. This company has built and rented a large number of two-flat houses, with two, three or four rooms and bath. The lower flats with two rooms and bath rent for $6.00 per month, those with three rooms and bath for $7.00 per month, and those with four rooms and bath for $8.00 per month. Upper flats bring fifty cents more in each instance.

The sanitary condition of the houses of the

Washington Sanitary Improvement Company is indicated by carefully collected mortality statistics for the year ending March 31, 1906. The dwellings owned by this company were occupied that year by 778 adults and 380 children, a total of 1,158. The number of births was thirty-nine and the number of deaths only eight. The death-rate was therefore only seven per thousand, while that of the white population of the whole city for the same year was 15.16.

The work of these two companies has had a most salutary effect on housing conditions in the capital city. Other agencies have also been active in securing housing legislation and in clearing out some of the most congested alleys and plague spots.

Comparatively few municipalities have done constructive work in solving the housing problem. Most of them have established a building code and stopped there. Some of the cities of Europe, however, have gone farther. Glasgow, about forty-five years ago, undertook a housing reform in the most strenuous manner. A densely populated slum section in the central part of the city was purchased, the old buildings were demolished and a new system of streets was laid out. Part of the sites along the new streets were sold and on others the city built new tenements with stores on the ground floor. The enterprise, although it has resulted

in great good to the city, has not been a complete financial success.

The London County Council has expended large sums in building city tenements, but since 1900 it has taken up the work of building suburban homes. Large estates in the suburbs of the city have been purchased and modest detached cottages have been erected thereon. Up to March, 1909, 1,335 of these cottages had been built and the enterprise is meeting with general approval.

Ulm, in Germany, has probably gone farther in the matter of constructing municipal tenements than any other city on the continent of Europe. It has purchased large tracts of suburban land and after improving them has resold a portion of the sites and has erected cottages and cottage-flats on other parts. From 1891 to 1909 this city purchased over 1,200 acres of land for $1,390,000 and resold 404 acres under full restrictions for $1,633,000. In this way a portion of the unearned increment has come into the treasury of the city where it rightfully belongs, and the people have been able to procure building sites at reasonable prices. Ulm erects cottages to sell to workmen on easy terms, or the workmen may rent them if they prefer. It is generally conceded that the real estate ventures of Ulm have proved

beneficial to the city as a whole and especially to the working people.

Many other German cities are purchasing suburban land and some are building cottages and tenements, but as a rule these cities are proceeding cautiously in the matter. It is quite common in Germany and Switzerland for homes to be supplied for city and state employees, but the cities on the continent have not gone so far as the English in building operations.

In New Zealand, the department of labor was authorized by acts of 1905 and 1908 to erect homes for working men. Up to the summer of 1909, the department had built twenty-five detached cottages, which are rented to working men at a moderate rate. These cottages, usually of five rooms, are built of wood and each is provided with a lawn and garden.

From the foregoing description of efforts that have been made in various places to procure better housing conditions, it becomes evident that the present housing problem is largely one of securing good homes for the people, who through poverty, ignorance or misfortune are not able to secure good dwellings for themselves. An inquiry into conditions in almost any city will show that private landlords for the most part do not take a deep interest in the welfare of their tenants. Their principal con-

cern is to secure as large a return on their investments as possible. Their buildings are erected and managed with that end in view. They do not hesitate to make a tenement cover the entire building lot, or to put in dark rooms in case they are not restricted by law. As a rule they oppose tenement-house laws on the ground that they make building operations too expensive. In New York City, where the tenement-house problem was at one time most serious, the utmost efforts of the tenement-house department were required to secure obedience to the law on the part of landlords and building companies. All other cities that attempt to do any real work in regulating tenements have similar experiences. The principle, however, is now well established that the State is justified in regulating the construction of buildings in a city or village, and each year finds additional laws on the statute books designed to limit the greed of landlords and insure the health and safety of tenants.

Considerable discussion has arisen among those who have given attention to the housing problem concerning the type of house best suited for the homes of working people of moderate means. Three distinct types are advocated. First, the detached cottage with lawn and garden. Those who advocate this type claim that the detached cottage makes the best

DETACHED COTTAGES BUILT FOR WORKING PEOPLE IN ALBANY

home; that it meets the requirements for light and air better than any other form of dwelling; that the ground attached will cause the tenant to take a pride in his home and to become more thrifty; and that he will have a greater desire to become the owner of the place. Those who oppose this type of house state that the land necessary for a lawn and garden costs too much except in small cities where land is cheap, or at a remote place in the suburbs from which the expense of transportation for the family of the workman would be prohibitive. They further state that the workman as a rule comes home tired and has no time or inclination to work a garden or care for a lawn, and that the yard is more likely to become a storehouse for rubbish than a place of beauty and recreation.

Second, the two-story block house. This is the type prevalent in Philadelphia and Baltimore, where row after row of two-story one-family houses line almost interminable streets. These houses usually have six rooms, besides cellar, attic and bath-room. They have a frontage of fourteen to eighteen feet and vary from twenty to thirty feet in depth. The street and side-walks in front of the houses are of good width but they are usually devoid of grass or trees. In the rear of the houses is a space covered with clothes-lines and hemmed in with a high fence in which there is a door leading

CHAPTER IV

CITY STREETS AND SOME SPLENDID TYPES

THERE is nothing of greater importance to a municipality than good streets. From the utilitarian view-point the street is necessary so that people may move with facility from one point to another. It is indispensable for traffic, that all the necessities of the citizens may be met with ease and expeditiousness. To this end the street in the modern city is adapted to the use of the pedestrian and to the bicycle, the automobile, the carriage, the street-car, the truck, and various other means of locomotion.

The machinery of modern civilization has compelled us to use the street, for better or for worse, for a large number of things in addition to transportation. As a part of it, indeed, but not essential to it, we have poles which support wires for the trolley; electric light, gas lamps and oil lamps supported by posts or held by brackets to the side of buildings; cans for waste paper; post-office boxes for letters and parcels; fire-alarm boxes; projecting signs advertising all manner of shops and stores; bill-boards on

which, too often alas! are manifested glaring advertisements of theaters, variety shows, divers beers and liquors, dry goods, and all the things which are for sale for man's comfort and entertainment. Then as if poles for electric wires were not sufficient, there are other poles for telegraph and telephone wires, and those bearing electric cables, so that ofttimes the modern street presents the confused appearance of the horizontal cross-bars of a huge gymnasium or the bewildering spectacle of a juggler's show.

The value and importance of the street were not recognized by ancient municipalities. If one studies the unearthed city of Pompeii he is impressed with the narrowness, awkwardness, and inadequacy of the streets. A street in that city was nothing but a narrow, tortuous slit between rows of houses. The modern survival of this ancient and uncouth passage-way is found today in the slums of our own cities and in the lower quarters of cities like Naples and Genoa. It may send a thrill of joy through one's soul to stand in front of the house in which Christopher Columbus once lived in the Vico Dritto Ponticello in Genoa; but what an alley it is! It seems to shut out all that is ideal. There is nothing here but squalor and an utter lack of every idealistic and mystical touch. One wonders, indeed, how in the soul of this great man such splendid visions could have been created

in such a dingy environment. Or again as one stands in front of the house where Dante was born in Florence—this wonderful poetic genius that incorporated in his masterful "Comedy" ten centuries of Christian thought and civilization—and looks around at the dingy and squalid street there is a sinking within the soul; for this Via Dante is just as squalid as the street in which Columbus lived.

But to modern civilization a street of a very different order is absolutely necessary. The imperative demand at present is for a broad, well-lighted street that will accommodate all without crowding and without confusion. It is essential that in width, structure and decoration the street be carefully adapted to the purposes it serves.

Streets everywhere should be broad, whether in village or cities. Sunshine and air are essential to human life. The wide street enables the citizen, especially in the larger cities, to avail himself of these great boons which it is his inalienable right to enjoy. It is of the utmost importance to construct in addition to a pavement wide enough for traffic, an ample sidewalk with a good curb. Where the street is narrow as in many cities of Europe, the curb is dispensed with, allowing the citizen to use the entire street for walking.

It must be remembered that the street is

GARIBALDI STREET IN GENOA

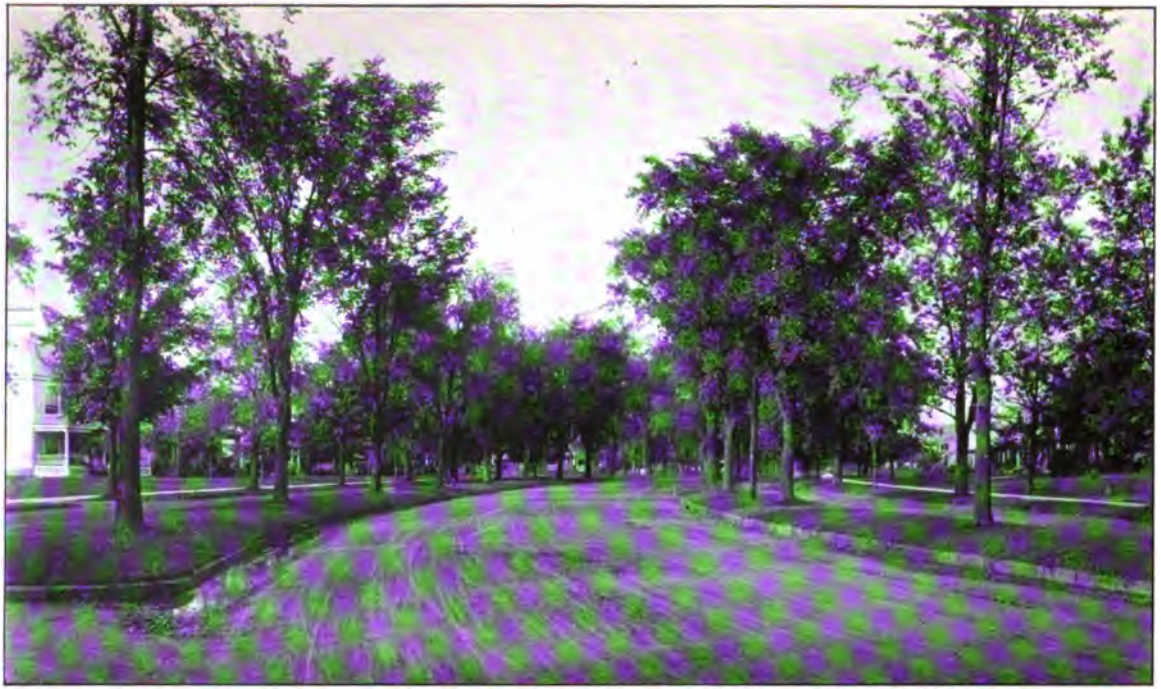
Altho narrow, this street has been well adapted for traffic purposes, by the elimination of sidewalks, curbs, poles, and wires

made for man and not man for the street. Our modern sanitary knowledge demands that streets be kept clean. The germs on our city streets endanger the lives of inhabitants. The utmost care then must be taken in cleaning streets, in flushing them with water and in using all possible means to prevent the accumulation of dust and the mingling of this dust with the air which the citizens are compelled to breathe.

The question of pavements is one of the most important. A pavement should be selected that will be smooth, noiseless and durable and that can be easily cleaned and repaired. The best pavements are macadam, asphalt, smooth stone granite block, brick and wooden block. In most cities of Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Belgium and France, a good deal of Belgian block is used. But this is very noisy and difficult to keep clean. In Naples and Genoa much use is made of stone blocks 24x18x7 inches in size. This seems to give excellent satisfaction. It is not so noisy as the Belgian block and it is easy to keep clean. It bears the brunt of heavy traffic unusually well. But the best pavement when well laid is the wooden block. Much of this is used in Paris, and some in Rome. In the latter city may be seen the finest piece of wooden block pavement in Europe. It is near the Pantheon and constructed of hard wood brought from

Argentina, but it cost the forbidden price of one dollar per square foot. For such a pavement it is of course necessary, as in the case of asphalt, to have a solid foundation under the block. There should be a concrete base and the block should be laid in tar, so as to keep out water. The advantages of wooden block, especially in large cities, are that it can be very easily cleaned, is yielding, easier for travel for both horse and man, noiseless and durable.

The width of a street should have a close relation to the height of buildings erected thereon. In mentioning this point there instantly comes to mind the sky-scraper, one of our unique American products, and one wonders how wide a street would have to be to prevent obstruction from it. There have been many attempts to control the matter by regulating the sky line of buildings. Rome has an ordinance to the effect that no building shall be higher than one and one-half times the width of the street upon which it fronts. The maximum shall not be over 24 meters (78½ feet) nor the minimum under 14 meters (45¾ feet). Style, material, and other features are under official surveillance. Paris fixes the maximum of façades at 20 meters (65½ feet). It also determines the number of stories and compels private builders to observe the letter of



MANNING BOULEVARD IN ALBANY

Manning Boulevard is an ideal residential street. It illustrates the principal contribution made by America to city planning,—that of a street with spacious open lawns on each side of the roadway

the law respecting the *raccordement et l'harmonie des lignes de construction.*

Berlin has far superior regulations. It divides the city very properly into sections. For business divisions there are different regulations than for residential divisions. Thus in a residental district it would be a crime to erect a factory or office building. In this way sections which have become valuable for residences and in a cumulative fashion have become more and more artistic as the years go by, are preserved for the city; otherwise, as frequently happens in our American cities, the residential district would be changed in each generation by the obtruding of business houses, factories, and apartment houses.

In European cities where we have examined sky and front line, as for example, in Paris, there is a tendency toward monotony. It is necessary then to be careful, especially in business sections, to see that the front and sky line obey a reasonable order; pains should be taken to afford an opportunity for both variety and artistic display. In a residential section nothing is more pleasing than a broad street, a broad sidewalk, and a broad lawn intervening between sidewalk and houses. American cities are making unique contributions in this line. Lawns in front of our houses for the most part

are without a fence or wall. This enables the passer-by to enjoy the shrubbery, flowers, and green sward. The private lawn becomes a social factor and a contribution to the esthetic side of human nature. But as one passes through the residential sections of Rome, Naples, Genoa, Milan, or Turin in Italy, of Dresden, Leipzig or Berlin in Germany, one has a constant desire to participate in the joy of lawns in front of houses which, alas! are hidden by obstructive walls and hedges.

The value of a broad sidewalk is very great, especially in the business sections of cities. Sidewalks, of course, should be constructed of excellent material and should be laid so as to afford facility in walking. Concrete sidewalks are among the best. We should like to call attention to the uses that can be made of the arcade over the sidewalk in business sections. Take a magnificent street such as the Via Venti Settembre in Genoa. This is a very artistic, broad street. The sidewalk measures from eighteen to twenty feet wide and is covered with a splendid arcade. Bologna revels in such arcades. As the Milanese may justly boast of their diagonal avenues, *ringstrassen* and splendid piazzas, and the Genoese of their magnificent walls, and splendid port, so the Bolognese may take pride in their arcades. As one passes through the arcades in Bern, they give one a

sense of quaintness and familiarity. One of the chief values of the arcade is to enable the pedestrian to utilize the sidewalk with comfort on a stormy day. He may take his exercise, attend to necessary purchases, and enjoy himself despite the inclemency of the weather or the angry storm.

Oftentimes it is necessary to carry a street over a stream, or other impediment, by means of a bridge. A bridge is always a very conspicuous structure. The utilitarian aspects must of course be attended to. It must be strong and commodious enough to bear the burdens imposed upon it, but it should also be beautiful. Nowhere is the work of a municipal art commission more necessary than here. A bridge should have an artistic touch so that it may be a thing of constant joy to those compelled to use it. The bridge itself should not be overcrowded with decoration. We are not advocating the erection of houses and shops upon it after the fashion of the old London bridge. There is indeed a fascination in a bridge like the Ponte Vecchio in Florence, which spans the river Arno. Here one may purchase precious stones and jewelry to his heart's content, and while making his selections and driving his bargain be totally unconscious that the river is flowing beneath him. One may participate in similar feelings on the Rialto in Venice. Here

there is an improvement over the Ponte Vecchio of Florence, for the pedestrian can take a walk back of the stores and houses on the bridge which commands a view of the canal; that is, if one is walking on the northerly side of the bridge he commands a view of the great canal in that direction, but the southerly view is hidden from him; and if one is walking on the southerly side the shops and houses intercept the view on the northerly side. A modern bridge should be free of these obstructions. How absurd it would be to erect houses on the Dalmazi Brücke in Bern! This bridge spans the River Aare. In walking across it toward the historical museum, one can catch a sublime view. There are the red roofs of houses in the distance, the peculiar green of the water in the river, sunlight coming through banks of cloud, miles of green sward and trees, and all in a magnificent amphitheater of nature. Surely such a view lifts the soul up to the ideal. What a pity it would be to intercept such a soul feast by any kind of structure upon the bridge, how it would impoverish the higher life of the Bernese who take daily walks and drives across it, as well as that of those who take a casual trip.

The bridge should be artistic. An ideal for the bridge builder can be seen in the Ponte Alexandre III in Paris. This bridge was con-

THE PONTE VECCHIO CROSSING THE RIVER ARNO IN FLORENCE

structed in memory of the czar whose name it bears. The corner-stone was laid by Nicholas II. It is of one span and constructed of cast steel. Sculpture and pylons are grouped so as to leave a splendid impression upon the mind. The entrance to a bridge is very important and has great artistic value in the case of the Place de la Concorde in Paris. A bridge should be at the level of the street, in fact, it should be a continued street and artistic values simply added in an unobstructive way to make it pleasing.

It is rather difficult, if not unnecessary, to keep the utilitarian aspects of streets separated from the artistic. All poles and wires must ultimately disappear from public streets. Eventually conduits will be constructed by municipalities in which all wires and pipes will be placed. It has now become practicable in large cities to place trolley-wires underground. In the best governed cities of northern Italy, Switzerland and Germany, as well as in some cities of America, wires and poles are not permitted to obstruct the street. In the case of the trolley the sustaining wires for the current wire are often buckled to the façades of buildings, and where there is no building, as in parks and squares, ornamental poles are used.

The lighting of streets is a very important factor and deserves a great deal of attention.

It is the custom in many places, as in the Via Dante in Milan, and in the streets of Florence and Paris, to use gas with Welsbach burners. The electric arc is used, however, to a greater or less extent in all cities. The use of ornamented brackets when attaching lights to a wall, or of ornamental poles supporting the lights adds much to the attractiveness of streets.[1] A good beginning was made in this direction in New York City, where a prize was offered for the most beautiful electrolier to be placed in Madison Square on Twenty-third street, on an isle of safety. A splendid impression is left upon one after a stroll at night in Unter den Linden, in Berlin. This noted street is lighted by electricity in a very artistic way. In 1896 the L'Œuvre Nationale Belge, a society for municipal improvements, offered two prizes, one for the idea and one for the actual execution of the result in designated public places that should be lighted electrically in Brussels. Eleven artists were appointed as a jury and several designs were recommended. One of them for a single candelabrum for the Place de la Monnaie has been successfully re-

[1] At one time this was a private affair. This practise attained its highest expression in the lamps of the Strozzi Palace in Florence. This fine artistic work is an inspiration to municipal art in the matter of lighting. For lighting, probably nothing excels in beauty the candelabra of Paris, as those, for example, on the Place de la Concorde.

produced in many other cities. The effect is very artistic.

The necessary furnishings of a street, such as post-office boxes, electroliers or gas lamps, waste-paper cans, fire-alarm boxes, signs and other features, should be combined where possible into a unit and the combination be made artistically pleasing.

Places of public comfort should also be provided. The proper localities for these are in piazzas, parks, and other open spaces. It is one of the disgraces of American cities that in most of them no such provision is made. We can well take lessons from northern Italian, Swiss and German cities. It goes without saying that these places should be artistically built and cared for by attendants.

Streets should not be used for public advertising. We can never attain the city artistic so long as we permit projecting signs upon business streets and placards in glaring colors to disfigure the façades of buildings. Some attempts are being made to correct this evil. San Francisco has an ordinance protecting poles from being disfigured and prescribing that signs on buildings shall not exceed the height of three feet and a length of ten feet. Chicago has an ordinance requiring that no bill-board on residence street or pleasure drive shall be erected without the consent of the owners of three-

fourths of the frontage of the block. In England a society has been formed called the "Scapa,"[1] an organization for checking the abuses of public advertising. American cities are great sufferers from this evil and it is time it was corrected. Bill-posting should become a municipal affair, or at least should become a matter of municipal control, as it is in Berlin. Three forms of advertising exist in European cities; one consists of square frames erected by the municipality in convenient localities, the advertisements being regulated by the size of these squares. Another is the round tower at street corners, on which bills are posted neatly. This can be seen in many cities of Germany. The third is the kiosk, which is the prevalent advertising provision in Paris. These kiosks are used in selling newspapers. The advertising is placed on the inside of the glass of the upper section. They suggest a very commendable way of restricting the nuisance of street advertising.

In general it would be well if we did away completely with all forms of bill-posting. If the merchant must advertise his wares other than by selling reliable goods, let him use the newspapers. If we cannot do away with bill-posting it certainly ought to be subject to municipal control. For this supervision the mu-

[1] "SCAPA." This word is formed from the initial of *society, checking, abuses, public, advertising.*

nicipality might derive a just revenue. The bills posted should have artistic values. A good suggestion is made by Charles Mulford Robinson in his "The Improvement of Towns and Cities," that the poster should "bring color to city streets." That reveals another phase of the subject to him. In Italy the gray wall of many an old palace is "brightened by its owner's escutcheon." Heraldry thus "plays yet a decorative part in modern streets, where the arms of royalty blaze in heavy gilt over shops that have catered to a reigning house. We ought to find a suggestion here. In a republic there may be scant regard for the crest of an individual, but why should not the trade-mark be made artistic, be colored and emblazoned on walls as proudly in an age of commerce and industry, as were prowess and birth in chivalric days?"

So the work of the artist, the sculptor, the hammerer of iron, rebus signs and heraldic devices might give to advertisements a beauty long unknown, and business streets would no more be crude and meaningless. There should be "nothing violently assertive, nothing glaring; but art would stud with beauty, life and interest, the background of harmonious façades." Thus we should find the proper solution of the advertisement problem not a discouraging task, but an inspiring opportunity, and what seems a far-off goal would be reached by very easy steps.

This is a very admirable suggestion. We might also urge that all printing on shop windows and doors be done artistically in gold-leaf, as is now required in Paris, and the disappearance of all abominable signs; the Indian that stands in front of the cigar store; the barber's pole suggestive of the blood-letting and bandaging of an earlier time; the three golden balls of the pawn-shop that were far more artistic in the coat of arms of the Medici; the gorgeous ball of fire of the cheap restaurant; all sorts of swinging signs, and especially the lavish and inartistic use made at present of electricity to mar streets by night.

Touches of nature on a street through the ministry of flowers and trees are most desirable. They speak a language higher than macadam or asphalt. They relieve the monotonous beat. They impart to the walk the rhythm of poetry. The tree may be utilitarian as well as esthetic. It can absorb carbonic acid gas and give out oxygen for the use of human lungs and brains. Its umbrage may protect us from the torrid heat and afford shelter to the traveler caught in a rain-storm.

Among the ideal streets of Europe are the Bismarckstrasse in Charlottenburg and the Avenue de la Grande Armée and the Avenue du Bois du Boulogne in Paris. The Bismarckstrasse is the center of business. As we looked down

it nothing could be more utilitarian, and yet it combined utility most successfully with artistic element. Starting at the left, first came a sidewalk of concrete with a fine row of linden trees bordering the curb; then an asphalt road for traffic; then a fine gravel road for horse-back riding, then another row of linden trees. In the center was an asphalt road for general purposes, then a fine row of trees, and farther to the right a strip of lawn on which were the two sets of street-car tracks. On both sides of the lawn were trees and beds of flowers; then, to the right, an asphalt road for general purposes; and finally a concrete sidewalk bordered with linden trees. Certainly the impression was most delightful. As can be seen from this meager description, this street is at once both esthetic and utilitarian.

The Avenue de la Grande Armée in Paris is equally impressive, although different in design. Standing with one's back upon the Arc de Triomphe the street appears to advantage. Starting at the right first comes the concrete sidewalk with lamps, then an asphalt street, then a narrow strip of gravel with trees and lamps between them, then an asphalt road for cyclists but not for motor cyclists or automobiles, after this a concrete sidewalk and then a gravel space for trees and lamps. In the center are two parallel tracks for street railroads, and

in the space between the two tracks are isles of safety with lamps upon them. The pavement along the tracks is Belgian block. To the right of the center is another gravel strip for trees and lamps, then a concrete sidewalk, then a gravel strip with trees, lamps and walking-space; then a street paved with asphalt, and finally a concrete sidewalk with lamps on the curb. This makes a very artistic street, but is not so esthetic as the Bismarckstrasse.

From the view-point of the esthetic alone, the Avenue du Bois de Boulogne is superior to either of the streets described. But it lacks the quality of utility. It is a splendid ideal, not for a thoroughfare for business but for a promenading street in a residential section. No provisions are made for street-cars. Strolling down this Avenue toward the Bois and taking it from left to right, there is a concrete sidewalk about four and a half feet wide; then a rough macadam road about twenty-one feet wide; then a broad strip for grass, trees and shrubs measuring in width about one hundred and twenty feet; then a sidewalk of fine gravel forty-five feet wide; then a central street paved with Belgian block covered with a slight film of asphalt, fifty-five feet wide; next, a soft gravel driveway for horse-back riding forty-five feet wide. Then another space of beauty of one hundred and twenty feet. Here are shrubs, trees, flowers,

zigzag walks and a monument to "Alpland, directeur des traveaux de Paris." This strip, together with its companion strip on the opposite side, gives to the street the appearance of a park, and strolling down we forget all about the splendid houses that flank the street. Next to this is a concrete sidewalk four and a half feet wide, then a rough macadam street twenty-one feet wide and last of all another concrete sidewalk of four and a half feet. Seldom indeed can one find a more ideal street for a residential section. There is plenty of room. The dwellers on this avenue are not deprived of air and sunshine. The horse-back rider may enjoy himself to his heart's content and yet the nurse and children may play with perfect safety.

Plotters of streets the world over might find splendid suggestions in the study of these three streets.

CHAPTER V

THE VALUE OF ART IN CITIES

Civic art has been compared to "A fire built upon the market-place, where every one may light his torch; while private art is a fire built upon a hearthstone, which will blaze and die out with the rise and fall of fortunes."

It is the function of art to bring us into touch with the ideal. The artist gives an expression of ideal life in tangible forms. The painter, sculptor and architect make visible some part of the inner fairy-land which always fascinates us. Such expressions are demanded by human nature. When the deep things of religion, love, patriotism, sacrifice, heroism, invention, discovery appeal to us through the eye and the ear by the ministries of art, not only do they give us an inner satisfaction but by reaction they tend to cultivate what is best within us. We are living in a beautiful world. Beauty is both our heritage and our atmosphere. This is the natural world, the world unspoiled by man's devices. What a contradiction therefore to compel the children of nature to live in ugly cities! The glory of the sunset and the cap-

tivating landscape are our natural rights; and irrational agglomerations of brick and mortar staring us out of countenance and other things much worse are our unnatural wrongs. Municipalities must take lessons from human nature. The homes of the people are an object-lesson in what their natures demand. What home so poor but has some sort of a picture on the wall? What woman so poor but strives after esthetic effect in the dress of her children? It is not good for man to live in unesthetic surroundings. People living in artistic surroundings will have a richer inner life. We put persons in jail who violate ethical law; will not the day come when we shall incarcerate people for violating the laws of esthetics?

The Athens of Pericles was at once an expression of the high ideals to which the Greeks had attained and a stimulation of those ideals in the minds of the rising generation. It is interesting to note that when civic art is developed to such perfection it does not stand alone. The age that produced a beautiful Athens gave also to the world poets and dramatists like Æschylus, Sophocles and Euripides and philosophers like Plato. In other words civic art becomes an expression of the higher life along its noblest and most comprehensive forms of development and naturally reacts upon it in such a way as to accelerate its value.

We must not think from this that our advocacy of civic art belongs to the category of the impracticable. We are contending that it is not necessary for utilities to be unesthetic. They can be touched with beauty. In a certain city it was proposed to build a sea wall along the bay and provide proper docks so as to encourage the commerce of the city. It was asked what were the plans looking toward giving this scheme a touch of art. The engineer replied, "We have not the time or the money to bother with this phase of the problem. We must content ourselves with the bare materialistic accomplishments." But we contend that it does not require more time to make a thing beautiful than it does to make it ugly; and as to expense, it will sometimes take less money, for art demands that a thing shall be done in the best possible manner. This always means even the saving of money in the end. Civic art indeed has to do with city planning, street-making, the parking and beautifying of the necessary street furniture, the façades, front and sky-line of houses and other structures, public buildings, churches and cathedrals, bridges and tunnels, railway stations, places of public comfort, parks—in fine, civic art must teach us to touch the common places of our city with beauty.

The corners, niches and squares of a city can

be utilized for displaying many forms of sculpture. We recall that on a beautiful Sunday afternoon in Paris we came upon something that delighted us. During the morning we had feasted on the masterpieces, the Venus of Milo, and Mona Lisa in the Louvre. We were returning to spend the afternoon with Rubens. Suddenly we came upon a fountain placed in an acute angle formed by two streets. Here on this spot that otherwise would be an eyesore, is a noble statue of Molière and a fountain and drinking-place for horses beneath. What a splendid combination of utility and beauty! How pleasant to be thrown into a reverie concerning the great moral dramatist, the creator of Monsieur Jourdain, rather than to feel disgusted with an unattractive pile of masonry!

The same notion is carried out in a different way on Ludwigstrasse in Munich. Looking in a southerly direction, the eye is met with the pleasing view of the Feldherrnhalle or Hall of Generals. It is built after the manner of the Loggia dei Lanzi on the Piazza della Signoria in Florence. Such an ending to a street certainly gives it a classic touch.

The presence of triumphal arches in cities connects us at once with the contributions of the Roman civilization to the modern world. The day is not far distant we trust when we shall not need triumphal arches through which vic-

torious armies with their booty of war and bespeaking untold misery and destruction of economic wealth shall march. The triumphal arches of Severus commemorating the victory of the emperor and his sons over the Parthians, Arabians, and Adiabeni, of Titus celebrating the defeat of the Jews in 70 of our era and of Constantine reminding us of the victory of the emperor over Maxentius near Ponte Molle in the year 312 A. D., where Constantine also declared himself in favor of Christianity, are still standing in the Forum. Patterned after these are the Siegestor in Munich, which is dedicated by Ludwig I to the Bavarian army, the Arco della Pace in Milan, erected to Napoleon III and Victor Emmanuel II, the Arc de Triomphe in Paris and the Washington Arch in New York. The horses on the Arco della Pace are certainly splendid examples of art. The Arc de Triomphe is a fine object-lesson. It is a work of art in a most beautiful setting. From the top of it is a magnificent view of Paris and one obtains a splendid notion of the twelve avenues that radiate from it. With all our heart we felt like exclaiming, well done, Haussmann! Here again we are reminded of the wedding of the utilitarian and the esthetic. The reconstruction of Paris under the expert leadership of Haussmann is a triumph for both of these aspects of life.

The Brandenburger Tor in Berlin, built by Langhans in imitation of the propylaea at Athens, shows how the arch can be used very effectively and beautifully as an entrance to a public garden.

The placing of great monuments in squares is very fitting. Italy has learned this lesson thoroughly. Victor Emmanuel, Cavour, Garibaldi and Mazzini are loyally commemorated. What sentiments and emotions are kept alive in United Italy as her sons and daughters contemplate these works of art! At Milan there is a noble statue of Cavour. On the pedestal stands a heroic figure of the statesman, and beneath, Italy, in the form of a female, is writing his name in letters of gold. At Bologna the equestrian statue of Garibaldi is a splendid piece of work. In the Piazza Corvetto[1] in Genoa there is a very commanding equestrian statue of Victor Emmanuel II and a modest statue of Mazzini. This square is one of the most pleasing spots in Europe. It is an important civic center. As one looks down upon it from the gardens of the Villetta Di Negro on the west, it looks as if a section of beautiful open country had been transferred to the very heart of Genoa. The artistic arrangement of the roads, the lawns, trees and flowers, the noble statue in the center, the gardens of the

[1] See Frontispiece.

Acquasola to the east, all combine to make this an ideal spot. Nature has contributed her share by giving hills both east and west of the piazza. These hills are terraced and are covered with waterfalls and gardens filled with trees and flowers. We know of no center which combines in a better way touches of nature, contributions of art and the utilitarian aspect. Surely, Italy is doing splendidly by the men who laid their lives upon the altar of the fatherland. She also, as we have seen, remembers men of letters and the magicians of the plastic arts. There is a noble statue of Dante in Florence, of Leonardo da Vinci in Milan, and of Columbus in Genoa. The one of Columbus is fittingly placed in the Piazza Acquaverde. There he stands welcoming people to his Genoa as in spirit he has welcomed so many millions to his new world.

Can there be anything more fitting for a municipality than to provide monuments for its squares and niches of those who have worthily distinguished themselves in any department of human endeavor? Great care must of course be exercised to have these forms of expression conform to the most rigid standards of the plastic arts. The products of the granite companies scattered through the villages of the United States are a disgrace to us. The traveler must feel inspired in the presence of the tangible expression by art of some of the persons and

events which have made history. What more inspiring than to take a leisurely stroll through the Sieges-Allee (the avenue of victory) in the Tiergarten in Berlin! This avenue is most artistically decorated. It is flanked by the statues of thirty-two Prussian rulers. Behind each monarch is an arch adorned in the style prevailing during this particular ruler's reign and bearing hermes-busts of two of his contemporaries. Here then is an avenue cut through a splendid park with all that nature can do around it, where tree, shrub, flower, green sward, contour of hill and dingly nooks and the singing of birds are in great wealth and the avenue itself garnished with the masterpieces of the sculptor's chisel.

In contrast with this are the Loggie degli Uffizi in Florence. These are "Cabined, cribbed, confined" in the very heart of a congested city. In a narrow street with the famous Uffizi gallery on one side and the post-office on the other the pillars of the colonnades of these buildings are decorated with statues of celebrated men. Benvenuto Cellini, Galileo Galilei, Amerigo Vespucci, Niccolo Machiavelli, Giovanni Boccaccio, Francesco Petrarca, Dante Alighieri, Michelangiolo Buonarroti, Leonardo da Vinci, Donàtello, Giotto and others are found here. What an inspiration to any one who has a deep sentiment for the best things in human life to

be associated with the memories that cluster around the achievements of these men! And what enrichment to the life of the municipality!

We know of no finer work that a municipality can do after it has made proper provision for the physical needs of its citizens, and this in itself is no small task in the light of modern demands, than to bring them into touch with the great men who have contributed to the well-being of humanity. One morning in the Bahnhofstrasse in the city of Zurich we were delighted to find the statue of a noble educator. Zurich is one of the best governed cities in Europe. The Bahnhofstrasse is one of its best streets. It is broad, well-constructed, with very fine business buildings abutting it and it opens at one end toward the Zurich-See.

This particular morning was full of sunshine and we were much interested in the open market upon the street, where the venders were selling the products of their gardens to the citizens. There in this busy street in front of the Linthescher school-house stands the statue of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi. The fine old school-master and pioneer in educational theory and practise is looking tenderly into the face of a ragged boy and the child in turn looks at him with the awakening wonder of a young soul and with perfect confidence. Pestalozzi was one of the men that gave us our modern system of educa-

THE PESTALOZZI STATUE IN ZURICH

tion. Following in the footsteps of Rousseau he refused to comprise all education within the limits of book knowledge. He contended that the education of his day needed a recrudescence. People had to unlearn much. Education, if it knows its business, must follow the lines of development in the individual and instruct him along the lines of the evolution of his experiential development. Rousseau revolutionized the system of education by clinging to the injunction: "Study the subject you have to act upon." Pestalozzi took up the advice and believed that education should be based upon the learner's experience, must strengthen the powers of the learner's mind and do this by applying its methods to the natural evolution of soul and body.

Simple as this seems to us to-day, yet to an age that worshiped book-learning, it was a distinct step in advance. For then as too often nowadays there was more attention paid to the pupils' knowledge of a book than to the all-round development of those powers which later could be applied to a book or the managing of a factory. What more inspiring monument then could Zurich possess than that of one of her own sons, and such a son! What greater inspiration could the pupils of the Linthescher school obtain than by looking into the face of one who practised unselfishness and

sacrificed so much for an ideal that would help humanity? Geneva has equally honored Jean Jacques Rousseau. Zurich has also remembered the noble Zwingli, one of the great heroes of the protestant reformation.

We have no objection to the devotion of space to great national monuments in honor of the magnificent sacrifices which have been made through war; although we sincerely hope that the present century will witness fewer of these erected and more erected to those men and women who benefit the human race along the nobler arts of cooperation through science, art, literature, philosophy, municipal and national betterment in government, etc. There is something majestic about Trafalgar Square in London, the splendid lions and the column bespeak a noble man and a great victory. There is something inspiring about the colossal statue of Bavaria and the Hall of Fame back of it in Munich. This Teutonic woman, emblematic of her country, gives one an impression of majesty and of great stability.

One of the noblest uses, however, to which space can be put is the placing upon it of such a monument as the one to the International Postal Union in the city of Bern, Switzerland. This is of world-wide significance. This work of such noble conception was executed by René de St. Marceaux. The monument preaches the

THE POSTAL UNION MONUMENT IN BERN

gospel of universal peace and helpfulness. Why spend money on arms and death-dealing war vessels when it is possible for the nations of the world the moment they learn to pull together to serve each other and help each other as they actually do through the postal union? This talk of a struggle for existence must give way to cooperation for existence. This monument is a noble conception. A figure of the earth rests upon masses of natural rock. Encircling it are five figures representing the continents handing messages each to the other. Below and at a distance from the globe sits a female figure embodying Switzerland. Her right hand is on the coat of arms of the confederation and she is contemplating the earth bound together in this beautiful way through the services of the postal union. There is naturally a look of satisfaction on her face and well there might be. The making possible of international communication through the mails is one of the undying achievements of the race. To Switzerland the honor for this accomplishment is due.

Fountains can be put to splendid municipal uses. Who has ever visited modern Rome without coming away with an indelible impression of its fountains? What a magnificent piece of work is the fountain of Trevi! One gets a fine example of the utilization of the fountain in a square in the Piazza del Populo. On the east-

erly side is a wall covered with sphinxes. In the center there is a great obelisk surrounded at the base by four sphinxes with water oozing from their mouths. There is also a splendid fountain on the easterly side and another on the westerly. Above this one is the wolf nursing Romulus and Remus. The adornment of this Piazza and important thoroughfare is pleasing in every way and worthy of imitation by any municipality.

CHAPTER VI

THE VALUE OF PARKS—IMPRESSIONS AT SANS SOUCI AND VERSAILLES

"In growth of taste, no educator of the people has been more valuable than parks. Their attractiveness is undoubtedly one of the causes of that everywhere increasing desire for more perfection in home surroundings."

ANY student of the subject will readily agree with this sentiment. Parks have a physical function to perform. They are a relief from the heat and dust of the street. The air in them is less saturated with the smells and impurities oozing from all sorts of manufactories. The cool shade under the umbrage of a noble tree or beside a quiet lake affords a relaxation which becomes a precious boon to the overworked of our large cities. Here are sunshine, plenty of good breathing air, quietude, relief from the never-ceasing whirr of traffic and a chance to rest from the exactitudes of daily toil, and too often alas! an escape from the sweatshop and slum.

The psychological value is blended with the physical. The *sine qua non* of our mental life

is change. No change, no psychological experience. Can any one estimate the value to a poor family of a day at the park? There is oxygen for the brain and as a consequence a better grasp by the children of the lessons at school during the following week. There is a stimulation to digestion and as a result more deliberation and gentleness on the part of the mother and father in the treatment of their children. No one can measure the psychological results which may become important assets to the municipality and the country at large through the mental ministries of the park. Many of the subtle results are undefinable. They are like Senator Ingalls' conception of a Kansas day. "Something that cannot be described, but once seen can never be forgotten." Only in the case of the good influence of the park they never can be seen but they can be realized by any one capable of analyzing hidden forces in the realm of the higher life. A day at the park would make for the mental well-being of any business-man, any day-laborer, any child or any mother.

The esthetic values add to the witchery and nobility of the inner life. As yet most of us are barbarians as far as the esthetic is concerned. Esthetics and ethics will be the last two domains to become the property of each soul. But there are none so esthetically poor but can enjoy the

ministry of flowers, touches of landscape gardening, the utilizing of hill and valley, the rustic bridge over the dell, the swans on the lake, the wonderful variety of tree and shrub and the green sward. Here among these touches of nature brought under the dominance of the art of man is imparted a contribution to the higher life that a soul like Wordsworth and all human beings to the measure of their capacity can feel. The following are in part the lines Wordsworth composed in the Wye valley a few miles above Tintern Abbey, where indeed nature is wild with the ravishings of beauty:

"These beauteous forms,
Through a long absence, have not been to me
As is a landscape to a blind man's eye:
But oft in lonely rooms, and 'mid the din
Of towns and cities, I have owed to them,
In hours of weariness, sensations sweet,
Felt in the blood, and felt along the heart;
And passing even into my purer mind,
With tranquil restoration:—feelings too
Of unremembered pleasure: such, perhaps,
As have no slight or trivial influence
On that best portion of a good man's life,
His little, nameless, unremembered acts
Of kindness and of love. Nor less, I trust,
To them I may have owed another gift,
Of aspect more sublime; that blessed mood,
In which the burden of the mystery,
In which the heavy and the weary weight
Of all this unintelligible world
Is lightened:—that serene and blessed mood,
In which the affections gently lead us on,—

Until, the breath of this corporeal frame
And even the motion of our human blood
Almost suspended, we are laid asleep
In body, and become a living soul
While with an eye made quiet by the power
Of harmony, and the deep power of joy,—
We see into the life of things."

It is given to very few to voice their deepest thoughts and emotions in such sublime language, but all feel unconsciously something from the very heart of nature speaking to their inmost soul. Even those who find little value in the temples of organized religion may be able to worship in the temple of nature in terms of true appreciation that lifts up the soul to a higher plane of living.

Parks may be indeed of the highest educational value. People should see in them suggestions for their own flower garden. Here they may become familiar with flowers and trees and pick up the rudiments of botany. It is getting to be a habit now to add the feature of the botanical garden and zoological department to the park. Thus an opportunity is afforded in such cities as London, Berlin, New York and most other principal cities of the world not only to come in contact with dimly conscious and beautiful plant life but also to study the expressions of nature in various forms of animal life.

The playground feature of the park must not be overlooked. In fact, the park is largely a playground for grownups. A human being is a natural player. Lack of play drives men and women wrong. But this is another story. Play, however, is a most essential thing to a child. The subtle coordinations between mind and body must be learned. They can only be learned through experience. Brain tracks must be opened, afferent and efferent nerves must learn the habit of their work; eye must learn to co-operate with hand, all the members of the body must be brought into such shape that they will be instantly ready for united and effective action. The child learns these things through play. The playground is a consideration independent of the park. It is something that must be attached to each school and scattered at frequent intervals through the city; but somewhere in the park this most necessary opportunity of engaging the ceaseless activity of the child must be found.

A historic touch adds value to a park. We shall never forget our visit to Sans Souci. Usually there is a tinge of disappointment when one visits a far-famed place. The imagination plays the trick of idealizing to such an extent that when we face the actuality our preformed ideal makes it look cheap and commonplace. Not so with Sans Souci. It outwitted even our

imagination. The noble vistas, the interblending of nature and art, the palace itself and orangery and the associations of these scenes with Frederick the Great and Voltaire, certainly make a combination difficult to duplicate in this world of ours.

The great fountain fascinated us. The basin is surrounded with twelve figures, which are French works of art of the eighteenth century. The water in the fountain is driven into the air to a height of one hundred and thirty feet. From the spray we were able to see rainbows from many angles. Sunshine and falling water introduced us into a world of magic. We ascended the steps of Sans Souci from the fountain. These steps are sixty-six feet in height and are intersected by six terraces. On the highest terrace are two beautiful fountains from which the water flows forth in the form of great bells. Here is Sans Souci! Here roams the spirit of Frederick the Great! He formed a rare combination—a man of indomitable, practical and executive ability and an idealist; a hater of humanity in general and yet full of splendid attachments; possessing a keen sense of humor and yet failing to acknowledge the right of banter in any one but himself. With little regard for women, he had fallen genuinely in love and could well be excused for his coldness toward the wife which his father forced

upon him. He loved his Germany but despised the German tongue and regarded it as boorish. At his death he left an army numbering about 200,000, drilled to perfection and ready for any emergency; he paid strict attention to matters of administration; he even supervised the machinery of justice and yet was able to immerse himself in French literature and correspond with men of the caliber of Voltaire. He added Silesia to the possessions of Germany but would not remove a windmill unrighteously that was obnoxious to him at Sans Souci. He was a lover of art as well as letters, a lover of music as well as of jovial and brilliant company. It was this man that raised a small state into the foremost place in Europe. One of the most impressive paintings is one showing Napoleon at the tomb of Frederick at Potsdam. He stands there very reverentially with hat in hand and is deeply moved. He is reported to have said upon this occasion: "Gentlemen, this was one of the greatest commanders of whom history has made mention. If he were alive to-day, I should not be standing here." Such was Frederick the Great. Did we not believe that great men were always idealists his career would seem to present an anomaly.

The dominating presence of another genius is felt here. It is that of Voltaire. He dwelt here with Frederick for two or three years.

They parted in ill-humor, which was a great pity. Similarity of genius and the possibility of fellowship are two quite different things. It is contended that congenial fellowship is based on dissimilarity. It is very difficult to generalize upon such matters. When all is said Voltaire was a great soul. Some day he will be better appreciated than he is to-day. He was a hater of all sham and hypocrisy. A critic of organized religion as he found it, he built a church at Ferney and placed this inscription over the entrance: "Voltaire deo erexit." He hated the theology of his day but gave religion a place of supreme importance. He believed in the value, authority and right of human reason. He accepted no past however sacred when its contribution was to his mind falsehood and hollowness. He lived at a time when organized religion and politics had to be reconstructed. The common people who had too long been oppressed were clamoring to be heard. Voltaire became their champion both against the church and the monarchy. He wielded his trenchant pen in their interest; he put his literary style at their command. How much they appreciated him can be seen from the ovation they gave him on his last entrance into Paris on the occasion of the performance of his "Irene." No better testimony to the value of his work can be found than in the irra-

tional attitude of ecclesiasts toward him. Men who never read his works shunned any contact with him as with the archdemon; men called him infidel and atheist without an iota of foundation for the latter, but much for the former, if by infidelity is meant the destruction of assumed authority in matters of the soul. How much the monarchy feared him can be seen from the fact that he dared not live in the capital of the country which he tried so faithfully to serve.

As we stand here then, the influences of these two great souls are suggested to us. For weal or woe the spirit of Voltaire is still marching on in the world. Everything is being submitted to reason. For much woe the expert military spirit of the great Frederick has been bequeathed to modern Germany and the world. It is full time for us to learn from him on the constructive side of his nature. A touch of his idealism would not be detrimental to us in the least. Verily we have here in Sans Souci all the influences, hidden as they are, which prevailed during the eighteenth century and have gone to make this modern world.

After visiting the art gallery and enjoying Rubens, we were ready for the palace itself, the actual place where these men lived and worked and indulged in spritely conversation with the wits of Europe! The chamber of Voltaire is unique. It is decorated with birds

and flowers, and here is a porcelain statue of the poet.

In the library are evidences of the literary tastes of the great royal master. There are some eighteen hundred volumes of French works. We saw samples of the handwriting of Frederick and Voltaire. In the concert room, where Frederick was wont to play on the flute and where Emmanuel Bach would play on the spinet is seen the clock which was habitually wound by Frederick. It is now stopped. The hands point to 2.20. It is said that it stopped at this hour on the morning of August 17, 1786, when the soul of the great Frederick left its earthly tabernacle.

Once more we emerge into the park and the sunshine. The faithful greyhounds of Frederick are buried on the easterly side of the terrace. It is said that he himself desired to be buried here at the base of the statue of Flora and that he said: "Quand je serai là, je serai sans souci." (When I shall lie there, I shall be free of care.) He lies buried at the Garrison Church in Potsdam.

We descended to the fountain, once more to enjoy the long vistas and the rainbows. As we stand here back of us to the west is the obelisk and in front of us to the east the New Palace. We went through this palace under the supervision of a guide. The room, dec-

orated with shells and precious stones, is certainly unique. Here are large pieces of amethyst, malachite, diamonds, large pearls and other precious stones.

This surely is a wonderful park. It is fortunate for a people to possess such a park in the vicinity of its capital. While the Germans are taking an outing as they come either from Berlin or other parts of the empire, they can drink in German history and patriotism with the very air they breathe. A park of this type is a contribution at once to the health and ideals of the people.

The same thing can be said of Versailles. What a place of wonderful historical significance! This is the birthplace of democracy in the old world. Here was ushered in, in fact, the modern world. Since the French Revolution democracy in the institutions of church and state has been largely actualized. Here the national assembly met. Here its members were denied the privilege of sitting with the representatives of the nobility and the church. Here was heard the cry of the people at large that had suffered from tyrannies too long. Here the national assembly was formed. Not far from this splendid palace did these representatives meet in a tennis court to take an oath never to separate until they had given France a constitution. And as the present inscription over the door has it: "Ils ont tenu

parole." (They kept their word.) Here are the splendors of art and nature. Near the palace is the Petit Trianon where the beautiful and visionary Marie Antoinette played at peasant life, and not far distant are the little Swiss cottages where live cows, and actual churns had been substituted for the dolls of childhood.

Here lived her husband, incapable and not imperious, and here be it said in all fairness both Marie Antoinette and Louis XVI became the victims of an evolution in modern society which they could not control and were more sinned against than sinning. Even wiser heads and more capable governors might have fared as badly. The time had come. Tyranny had been pushed to extremes. Versailles is indeed a name to be conjured with. Once the capital of France, it is the place where treaties of peace between England and the new-born American republic and between Germany and France were signed. Here is a gorgeous palace, with magnificent works of art showing the history of France in visible form, here are the rooms of Marie Antoinette and Madame de Maintenon; here is Lebrun's famous picture of Marie and her children and Ponce's Napoleon at the tomb of Frederick the Great. Here are the chambre des glaces and other splendid rooms manifesting

a wealth of art and taste and elaborate works from the sculptor's chisel.

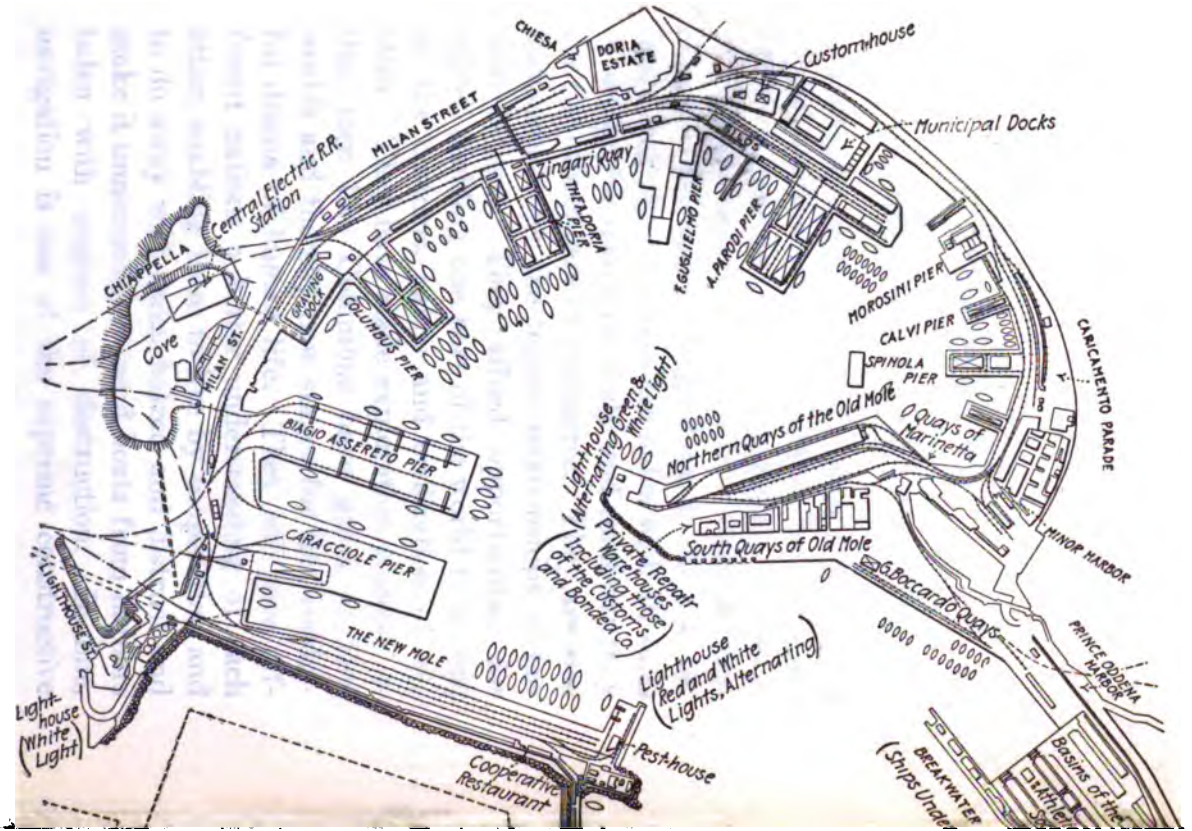
We shall never forget the day of our visit there—the fine lakes, the splendid walks, the beautiful flowers, the wonderful associations! In other places where it is impossible to get such historical values, for history cannot be bought for money, the best thing to do is to establish museums. This has been done in New York. The Metropolitan Museum of Art is in Central Park and the Museum of Natural History is not far away. By this method we have been able to combine nature and art in a very beneficial way to the public.

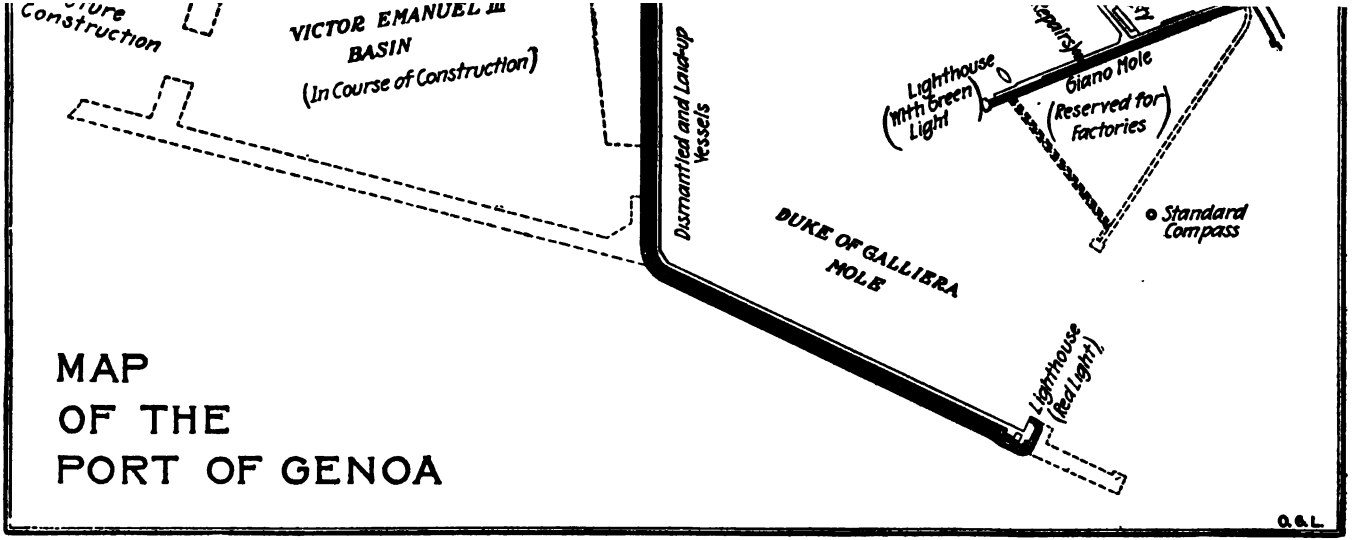
The tendency in parks nowadays is to have small parks at easy distances from each section of the city, and this is very commendable. A chain of parks connected with splendid driveways is desirable. And as we have suggested before, parking should be carried extensively into streets. But after all, we hope, that the notion of one great park for each city of considerable size will never die out. Human beings need a place where they can lose themselves, some place in which they will feel that they are cut away entirely from this workaday world. We certainly need parks of artistic and historic interest like those of Sans Souci and Versailles.

CHAPTER VII

HARBOR DEVELOPMENT—THE PORT OF GENOA

HARBORS and docks are of incalculable value to the modern city. Civilization has no more effective instrument than navigation; this form of transportation is impossible without harborage. The ships that go down to the sea, the boats that ply our rivers are laden with all sorts of things for man's necessity and comfort; they are the messengers of commerce. They are also instruments for the higher relationships of human beings. They afford opportunities for travel, enabling one part of the world to benefit by the customs, habits and civilization of another. They have made exploration possible, so that men like Columbus have given us new worlds and thereby new stages for the wonderful drama of human life. They will give different nations a better understanding of each other, enabling them to live by cooperation and to do away with racial hatred and distrust and make it unnecessary to send boats from harbors laden with engines of destruction. In fine, navigation is one of the supreme constructive


CHIESA
DORIA ESTATE
Custom-house
Municipal Docks
MILAN STREET
Zingaro Quay
THEA DORIA PIER
F. GUGLIELMO PIER
A. PARODI PIER
MOROSINI PIER
Central Electric R.R. Station
CHIAPPELLA
Cove
MILAN ST.
GRAVING DOCK
COLUMBUS PIER
CALVI PIER
SPINOLA PIER
CARICAMENTO PARADE
Lighthouse (Alternating Green & White Light)
Northern Quays of the Old Mole
Quays of Marinetta
BIAGIO ASSERETO PIER
CARACCIOLE PIER
Private Repair Warehouses (excluding those of the Customs and Bonded Co.)
South Quays of Old Mole
G. Boccardo Quays
MINOR HARBOR
PRINCE ODDENA HARBOR
LIGHTHOUSE ST.
THE NEW MOLE
Lighthouse (Red and White Lights, Alternating)
Light-house (White Light)
Pest-house
Cooperative Restaurant
BREAKWATER
(SHIPS UNDER



PRINCIPAL FEATURES IN THE MAP OF THE PORT OF GENOA

1 Four great protective moles—New, Old, Giano, and Galliera.

2 Two fine dry docks with all modern appliances, adjoining the Giano mole. They are capable of receiving the largest vessels. One is 620 x 120 x 33 feet, and the other 753 x 100 x 30 feet.

3 Thirteen stone piers for loading and unloading merchandise.

4 Thirteen overhead traveling cranes, each lifting 30 cwt. with a capacity of 35 tons an hour. These cranes have a lift of 55 feet and reach 31 feet beyond the edge of the quays.

5 Two railroad lines pass along the quays and under the cranes.

6 The warehouses cover a floor area of 400,000 sq. feet. They are built of stone with concrete floors carried on steel girders, four stories in height. They are divided into compartments the entrances to which have double iron doors filled with asbestos.

7 There are Marconi stations on the Old Mole used especially for purposes of navigation on the Mediterranean.

8 The Port is lighted by electricity; 144 arc lamps; 4 of 30 amp.; 138 of 10 amp.; 2 of 5 amp., 81 incan. lamps; 32 of 32 candle-power; 49 of 16 candle-power. In addition there are 20 arc lights of 15 amp. for the Old Mole; 2 of 15 amp. for the docks of Genoa and 4 arc lights for the piers where the Silos, etc., are located.

9 Municipal docks under the complete control of Genoa. They occupy a total space of 51,334.89 square meters. This includes the water space.

forces of humanity because it enables different nations to exchange their achievements in things material, intellectual, esthetic and moral. Harbors and docks are simply the conveniences at the terminals for the loading and unloading of vessels with promptitude, efficiency and safety.

How important they are to cities can be seen from the fact that so many cities have been built where there are facilities for navigation.

It is evident that municipalities should have entire control of harbors and their docking facilities, for thus only can they avert a form of monopoly detrimental to their economic development. A study of the port of Genoa is suggestive of what can be accomplished in harbor development, of the far-reaching value of such a port and especially of the inspiring example of the initiative of a splendid citizen.

On the 30th of June, 1910, the Consul General of the United States in Genoa gave us a letter of introduction to the Prefect of Genoa, asking him kindly to assist us in our investigations and to put in our hands all the statistical information we might require.

The next morning, July 1st, was one of charm under an ideal Italian sky. We called upon the Prefect, who received us very cordially and gave us letters of introduction to the commissioner of the prefecture, to the president of the Consorzio (autonomous harbor board) of the

protection this mole was lengthened several times; that is to say, in 1728, 1788 and 1777. During the Napoleonic régime, many projects were on foot for the extension of the Molo Nuovo, but owing to political disturbances they were not carried into effect.

On December 25, 1821, another destructive hurricane submerged or damaged forty vessels. The supporting walls of the port were also seriously damaged. This called for a further extension of the Molo Vecchio. Subsequent hurricanes, especially one in 1843, impelled the Genoese to protect the harbor still further by extending the Molo Nuovo. This was done to the extent of the possibilities of the public purse between 1846 and 1850.

After all these improvements, the Maritime Association, in 1850-51, solicited a new prolongation of the Molo Nuovo to the extent of 350 meters. An investigation conducted by the government revealed the fact that it was necessary to prolong the mole 450 meters at a cost of four million lire. Once more the public treasury could not bear the strain. But an extension of 150 meters was carried out between 1856 and 1862. Many other improvements were effected in the same period. The remaining 300 meters were added to the Molo Nuovo in 1868.

While these works were being prosecuted it

became apparent that some scheme for a systematic development of the port, anticipating its needs for half a century, should be framed. Then something happened in 1875 that the Genoese will never forget. The Duke of Galliera—Raffaele De Farrari—offered twenty million lire [1] for the systematic improvement of the port according to a plan which should be satisfactory to both government and himself, and the generous offer was enthusiastically accepted. The port thereafter became one of the most important centers of navigation in Europe. No expense was spared. The Genoese doubled the gift of the generous duke. When the improvements were finished, the total expenditure had reached about sixty-three million lire.[2]

The effect of these improvements was to add an arm to the Molo Nuovo on the east, extending therefrom in a southerly and westerly direction, for a distance of 657 meters, very properly called Molo Duca di Galliera, and another mole from the land side to supplement

[1] The value of the lire is 19.3 cents. The gift amounted to $4,000,000 in round numbers.

[2]

(1)	Strictly maritime works	33,245,035 lire
(2)	Incidental work	18,588,947 "
(3)	Work on railroads of port.....	11,000,000 "
	Total	62,833,982 lire

it, the Molo Giano, extending out 595 meters. In addition to these two moles were numerous other works, of course, incidental to the enlargement of the facilities of the port.

Thus it would seem that the present splendidly equipped port, with its ample protection for vessels, is the result of adversity on the one hand and the munificent generosity of one man with exceptional civic spirit on the other. What a fine example to those who wish to serve our municipalities and thus render the most practical aid to the common weal! The hurricane became an educator to the constructors of the harbor and the Duke of Galliera the financial inspiration. At present, any ship lying within the embrace of the great moles of this harbor can defy the most violent sirocco.

The Consorzio, or autonomous harbor board, is an organization for continuing operations under present provisions of the law for sixty years from 1903. Its functions are the administration of funds and revenues, operation, charge of construction work, making regulations, running railroads, responsibility for the coordination and betterment of the service, conduct of the military service, pilotage, policing, penal jurisdiction, public security, care of sanitation, the customs, and in fact everything that pertains to the port.

Five members of the Consorzio represent the

state. Representing the provinces are one delegate for Genoa and one for each other province which shares in the expense of the port to the extent of not less than eighty-thousandths of the contribution annually imposed upon all provinces.

The communes are also represented. That of Genoa by the mayor of Genoa, an engineer appointed by the communal council of Genoa from the college of engineers and architects of Genoa, or from the college of the naval and mechanical engineers of Italy. A representative can be sent from each commune which bears expense for the port, at the ratio of thirty-thousandths of the total annual contributions of the communes. The chamber of commerce and arts of Genoa is represented by its president and two others. The railroad service is represented by two of its superior officers. In addition there is one delegate from each of the chambers of commerce of Milan and Turin and two delegates represent the labor of the port. Thus the Consorzio becomes both democratic and expert in its composition.

The Palace of St. George, which was procured for the headquarters of the Consorzio in 1903, is a noble and historical building. It has an imposing façade overlooking the bay, with a painting of St. George killing the dragon in the upper center. Above this is a tower contain-

ing a clock, over which is a bell. There are also statues and coats of arms to complete the decorations. The Palace lends a dignity to the management of this great port and accords well with its importance to the life of Genoa, Italy and the world. The most ancient part of the Palace was erected in 1260 for Guglielmo Boccanegra, head of the military forces of the city. When he was expelled in 1262, it became the seat of the commune. Tradition has it that about 1278 Marco Polo, the famous navigator, was imprisoned here by the Genoese. It was enlarged several times. Later it was used as a custom-house.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century all the indebtedness of the republic of Genoa was owing to individuals. This created such confusion, that it was determined to concentrate the debt in one society, which took the name of San Giorgio. The society began its work in 1408, securing to the stockholders 7 per cent over and above 1 per cent for expenses. The republic gave at first a temporary lease of the property to the society, but in 1451 made it perpetual. The historic building acquiring the name of Palazzo di San Giorgio. In 1606 Tavarone produced the picture on the façade of the Palace of St. George and the dragon. This great bank is intimately connected with the fortunes of Genoa, its economic and political history. Its usefulness

ceased during the French supremacy beginning in 1797. For a time after this Genoa was attached to Sardinia and became merged into the kingdom of Italy. The bank of San Giorgio never resumed operations.

The part of the port which constitutes its natural base forms a semicircle about 1,500 meters in diameter. Taking into account the areas inclosed by the moles, it comprises entrance ports on the outside of the system proper —that is, the basin Victor Emmanuele III and the bay of Faro. These are on the southerly side of the Molo Nuovo and are formed on the easterly side by the southerly extension of the Molo Duca di Galliera and the Molo Giano which extends from the easterly side in a southwesterly direction, to meet it. Within this enclosure is the Avamporto (the foreport) of the Victor Emmanuele, and farther north beyond the Molo Vecchio is the port proper.

The semicircular indentation which formed the natural harbor was, of course, open toward the Ligurian Sea. The most fearful enemy, as we have seen, is the sirocco, which many times has swept upon the port and brought destruction in its wake. Southwesterly winds rarely attack it with violence. As previously stated, the first mole erected was the Molo Vecchio (Old Mole), but this as a defensive means

has been supplanted. The port is now protected by the moles Nuovo, Galliera and Giano. The Molo Nuovo is 610 meters in length, the Molo Galliera 657 meters on the southerly arm and 843 on the southeasterly. The construction of this latter great mole at an expense of 16,365,544 lire, that is to say, 10,910 lire per linear meter, required about eleven years of constant labor. The Mole Giano extends west southwest for a distance of 595 meters. It cost 2,100,148 lire, or an average of 3,530 lire a linear meter. The observation tower for pilots is located here. The total area of the port is as follows:

	Sq. Meters
Water surface	1,940,000
Protruding landings	546,000
Maritime railroad stations	80,000
Docks for construction, calking, etc.	60,000
Total	2,626,000

The depth of the water is from 9 to 18 meters in the shallower, and from 10 to 22 in the deeper parts. In fact there is not much space with a depth of less than 10 meters. There is an admirable system of zones for handling different classes of merchandise. Coal is chiefly handled on the east, on the Molo Nuovo, and the two piers beyond toward the north. Following the semicircle around toward the east,

next to the coal section, is a small area for landing and loading metals, although most of the metals are handled on the Molo Vecchio and the Molo Giano. Then comes an area of great interest to us—one devoted to cotton. In turn come zones for sundry merchandise, cereals, meats and other refrigerator products, salted foods and edible oils, mineral oils, wines, etc.

The exports are a little more than one-seventh of the imports and comprise olive oil, hemp, flax, rice, fruit, wine, hats, cheese, steel, velvets, gloves, flour, paper, soap and marble. The imports are coal, 50 per cent, grain 12 per cent, cotton 6 per cent, machinery and various merchandise 32 per cent. Most of the coal comes from the British Isles, about one-half from Cardiff and Barry, one-tenth from other Welsh ports, and one-fifth from the Tyne ports.

The total commercial movements of the port of Genoa for ten years, that is to say between 1899 and 1908 inclusive, represented 56,894,935 tons. Of these 25,582,041 tons of coal and 22,941,637 tons of general merchandise were disembarked and a total of 7,871,257 tons, including coal and general merchandise, were exported. The total imports then represented 48,523,678 tons. Taking the imports in round numbers to be 48,000,000 tons, we can gain the

following rough notion of the relative commerce of the port:

	Tons.
Cotton imported	2,880,000
Grain imported	5,760,000
Machinery and various merchandise	15,360,000
Coal	24,000,000
Total	48,000,000

The progress made in a decade can be seen in the fact that the total commercial movements of 1899 were 5,076,398 tons as compared with 6,886,647 tons in 1908. It is also interesting to compare with this the complete transactions of the port for 1909:

1. *Operating Transactions.*

Number of days of labor on coal	586,279
Number of days of labor on other merchandise	439,382
Total	1,525,661

2. *Railroad Transactions.*

		Tonnage.
Number of cars unloaded	92,710	663,028
Number of cars loaded	374,744	5,076,838
Total	467,454	5,739,866

3. *Maritime Movements.*

Vessels arrived.	6,915	Tonnage capacity,	8,841,741
Vessels cleared.	6,635	Tonnage capacity,	8,467,173
Total	13,550	Total	17,308,914

4. *Maritime Commercial Transactions.*

		Tons.
Disembarked ...	Coal	3,510,162
	Sundry Merchandise....	3,180,350
		6,690,512
Embarked		920,652
Total		7,611,164

It is interesting to compare with this the complete operations for the year 1876, when the Galliera compact was made:

Vessels	Sailing	4,552	Tonnage.....	619,677
	Steam	1,786	Tonnage.....	1,026,470
		6,338		1,646,147
Merchandise Handled.	Disembarked			872,330
	Embarked			61,443
Total				953,773

It will be seen that the number of vessels passing through the port have been doubled in this period of thirty-three years. The total tonnage of the vessels is ten times as large, and the merchandise handled has increased sevenfold.

Now for the journey. Here we are then in a snug little steamer ready to examine this wonderful port. We had entered it for the first time a few days ago as we came from Naples on a Lloyd-Italiano liner, and the beauty of the morning, combined with the won-

derful activity of the port, gave us emotions of extreme pleasure. The day selected for our journey was just as ideal. We could not have seen the harbor under better circumstances. Cesare Festa knew every nook and cranny of it. He had a remarkable soul for details. Every piece of machinery, every building and device, was not only familiar to him but he knew its history, its use, and efficiency. We spent four hours in our examination, and there were very few things that escaped our notice.

The most important factor in the fire department of the port is the pump barge "San Giorgio." It is constructed of sheets of galvanized steel and is considered by Signore Festa not only one of the most powerful and up-to-date pieces of machinery, but one of the most rapid steam-producers found anywhere in the ports of Europe. We boarded this barge and examined it carefully. It is certainly a model of expert mechanical engineering. The boat is 21.35 meters long, 4.85 wide. The machinery is in the center of the boat, separated from the heating plant and contains all that is necessary for propulsion, pumping for putting out fires and other purposes. A characteristic of the boat is that the machinery and heating apparatus are duplicated, so that in an emergency like a fire, if a part of one set gets out of order the other can be immediately started. The "Merry-

A GENERAL VIEW OF THE PORT AND CITY OF GENOA

weather" tubular system is used for the rapid production of steam; it furnishes about 600 horse-power of force, and is capable of generating steam to the extent of eight atmospheres in about ten minutes. The boat is able to perform its function in from five to eight minutes from the sounding of an alarm. The pumps for fire purposes are of the "Greenwich Gem" type, after the horizontal model; each one of these forces about 10,000 liters a minute to the height of 80 meters. They are constructed of bronze from old cannon.

Space does not admit of describing this boat more minutely, but what has been said will give an impression of the merits of this most effective piece of machinery for the protection of the great wealth represented in the harbor and warehouses. The compactness of it all impressed one as if it were a splendid watch rather than a pumping machine.

We then examined the dry docks, engine house and mechanical devices for emptying and filling docks with water.

We landed on the Molo Nuovo and had a vivid impression of the coal industry of the port. Here were vessels from England with men working half naked, covered with perspiration and coal dirt, inhaling constantly air laden with the dust which surrounded them like a cloud. We saw them in the act of carrying

coal bags on their shoulders in transferring coal from barges to vessels. Even a kitchen fire is gotten at some sacrifice of human life.

The port is well equipped with systems of cranes, electric elevators and hydraulic devices, not only for lifting boats, but for lifting coal, iron, cotton, etc.

Festa has given a complete and admirable description of the whole port in his "Guida del Porto di Genova," and if any one cares to study the activities of the port for a single year he may consult the annual reports of the Consorzio. We have only touched upon a few things of general interest. We were deeply impressed by the numerous activities of the port; for example, 92,710 cars were unloaded and 374,744 were loaded in 1909. This makes the total number handled by the railroads 467,454. The merchandise carried in them equalled 5,739,866 tons. Forty per cent of all the commerce of Italy, it is computed, passes through this great port. The mechanical devices brought into play, the two dry docks, a graving dock and a floating dry dock, the Marconi wireless system on the Molo Vecchio, numerous pontoons, warehouses and industrial sections are all impressive, but nothing is so imposing as the great protective moles of the harbor. As we stood on the Molo di Duca Galliera and examined the ponderous walls above the water and watched

the turbulent waves of the Mediterranean thrown carelessly back by them, we were moved to emotions by the dynamical sublimity of the sea.

Here is a port whose eventful history is practically that of modern maritime Italy. It has seen the rise and fall of civilizations and governments. It has witnessed storm, tragedy, conquest, and generation after generation of human effort, but nothing sublimer ever happened in its history than the contribution by one citizen, the Duke of Galliera, of twenty million lire for the construction of a protective system of improvements for the port, for this shows the way to a civic spirit of the future through which governments and individuals will cooperate to build up nobler cities for physical bases of a better humanity.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CONSERVATION OF HUMAN LIFE

"The comparative death-rate is an index of the relative civilization of countries"—MAYO-SMITH.

No phase of the study of municipal progress gives rise to more optimism than that of the city's triumph over death. Nothing speaks so distinctly of our advance in civilization as the lessening of death-rates. Everywhere, during the past fifteen years, there has been a remarkable lowering of death-rates. The reduction has been greater in cities than in rural communities, and in some cities much more marked than in others. Mayo-Smith, writing in 1894 of European cities, cites for the years 1880-85 the following as examples of low death-rates: Frankfort, 19.7; Hanover, 21.9; Stuttgart, 23.5; Leipzig, 24.1, and Berlin, 27.8. It was true that these cities made a more favorable showing than many other German cities, but the lowest rate mentioned would seem abnormal for most German cities to-day. In 1890 a rate under 20 per thousand was exceptional. Few cities in either America or Europe could boast of so favorable a rate! Now a death-rate as high as 20 per thousand

calls for an explanation! A glance at the accompanying table (No. 1) of the death-rates of leading cities in various countries from 1881 to 1909 will show the truth of the foregoing generalizations.

TABLE 1

Decline of Death-Rates of Leading Cities in Various Nations[1]

	1881 to 1885	1886 to 1890	1891 to 1895	1896 to 1900	1901 to 1905	1906 to 1909
Cities of Germany						
Berlin	26.5	22.4	20.5	18.1	17.0	15.4
Hamburg	25.2	25.3	24.2	17.3	16.3	15.0
Dresden	25.0	22.1	20.6	19.0	17.6	14.9
Munich	30.4	28.3	25.8	23.9	21.0	17.9
Breslau	31.3	28.8	27.4	25.0	23.7	21.1
Cities of the British Isles						
London	20.9	19.7	18.8	18.5	16.1	14.4
Edinburgh	19.6	19.7	19.7	19.0	17.3	15.7
Glasgow	26.0	23.1	22.3	21.2	19.5	17.9
Dublin	30.6	29.5	28.3	28.9	24.9	23.5
Belfast	24.7	24.4	25.1	23.4	20.8	19.8
Cities of the Netherlands						
Amsterdam	25.1	22.4	19.2	16.7	14.7	13.3
Rotterdam	24.2	22.0	20.8	18.0	15.6	13.9
The Hague	23.3	20.8	18.7	16.2	14.4	13.5
Cities of Italy						
Rome	26.8	25.9	21.4	18.1	19.8	18.7
Milan	30.8	30.4	27.4	23.2	22.1	20.1
Turin	27.2	23.5	21.6	19.8	19.6	18.1
Venice	28.3	28.0	25.1	22.8	22.2	21.3
Other European Cities						
Paris	24.4	23.0	21.2	19.2	18.	17.7
Brussels	23.4	21.2	20.2	17.2	15.2	14.2
Vienna	28.2	25.1	24.1	21.1	19.1	17.3
Prague	32.7	29.6	27.1	24.4	22.6	19.6
Budapest	31.5	30.8	25.5	21.6	19.8	19.4
Copenhagen	22.3	22.3	20.2	17.6	16.1	15.4
Stockholm	24.3	21.2	20.	18.2	16.1	14.8
Christiania	19.9	22.3	19.	17.5	15.3	13.5
St. Petersburg	32.8	26.8	25.3	24.6	23.5	25.7
Moscow	33.3	33.6	29.2	28.7	26.6	27.7
Cities of the United States						
New York	27.5	25.8	24.6	20.3	18.9	17.4
Chicago	21.5	19.5	20.6	15.2	14.2	14.4
Philadelphia	22.3	20.6	21.1	19.2	18.1	17.5
Boston	24.9	23.5	23.6	20.9	18.8	18.7

[1] From Annual Summary of Registrar-General of England and Wales, 1910.

Later statistics for some of these cities show a still further reduction. In 1912, several large cities in America had rates below 15 per thousand. In the above table, cities of the Netherlands, in the period 1906-1909, have the lowest rates, although several cities of other countries are not far behind. St. Petersburg and Moscow make an unfavorable showing, due probably to the extreme poverty of the lower classes in these cities. London, Paris, Berlin and Chicago have made wonderful gains since 1885. The low rate of London speaks volumes for the sanitary administration of that great metropolis.

The significance of the gain to humanity in this lowering of the death-rate becomes evident when we analyze the effect of such reduction in the death-rate in a single city. Take, for example, Munich. This now splendid city was at one time an impoverished and unhealthy community. In 1871, the year of the establishment of the German Empire, Munich had a population of about 167,000. Its death-rate was 41.6. At that time the city had no waterworks system and no sewer system connected with houses. Water was obtained from wells and ordinary earth closets were in use. Only one public bath was owned by the city and only scanty hospital facilities were available. In 1873 cholera swept over the city and the death-rate rose to 43.6. This calamity had the effect of making the peo-

ple somewhat more careful, and a decline in the death-rate followed. In 1875 the rate was 36.4; in 1880, 34.7; in 1885, 29.1; in 1890, 27; in 1895, 25.8; in 1900, 25.1; in 1905, 20.1, and in 1908, 17.9. In thirty-five years the death-rate was thus reduced more than one-half. In 1908 the total number of deaths in the city was 10,055. Had the death-rate been the same as in 1871, the number would have been 23,340. When we take into consideration the economic loss involved in death, the pain and anguish, the broken homes and the social loss, we can partly realize what is meant by saving the lives of 13,000 people each year. These lives, however, are not the whole gain. A decreased death-rate means a greatly decreased morbidity-rate. The saving in sickness is probably even greater than in deaths.

Dr. Fiack, the eminent statistician of Munich, has analyzed the death-rate of that city for over thirty years and has published a table (No. 2) giving the rates of different age-groups in successive years, the rate in each case being based on 1,000 of the same age-group. The table shows that in the years 1876-80 the average death-rate of children under two years of age was 649.4 per 1,000. In 1908 it was reduced to 249.2 per 1,000. The annual death-rate of children, from two to five years of age inclusive, was 52.1 in the first period and only 16.1 in

TABLE 2

Death-Rates in Munich According to Age-Groups from 1876 *to* 1908

Period	Average population in thousands	General death rate	Age-Groups—Years											
			1 and under	2-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	71-80	81 and over
			Deaths per thousand of number living in each age-group.											
1876-1880	213.8	35.4	649.4	52.1	9.5	4.1	5.9	8.8	13.0	17.2	27.5	49.5	105.1	235.6
1881-1885	246.4	30.4	528.0	46.6	9.5	3.2	4.4	7.2	12.2	16.5	26.9	48.8	101.1	222.2
1886-1890	295.6	28.3	501.2	45.1	8.4	3.6	4.4	6.5	11.0	16.1	26.2	49.1	104.4	216.1
1891-1895	381.4	25.9	484.2	36.8	6.6	2.8	4.0	5.3	9.2	14.6	24.1	47.7	102.8	229.8
1896-1900	449.4	23.9	449.6	29.0	4.5	2.4	3.7	5.3	8.5	14.1	24.6	46.6	103.2	223.3
1901-1905	517.0	21.0	357.4	22.9	3.5	2.6	3.5	5.1	8.1	14.0	25.0	46.5	99.0	224.8
1901	503.0	22.2	405.8	22.8	4.1	2.6	3.2	5.5	8.3	13.9	24.9	47.2	99.3	220.2
1902	509.0	21.4	382.3	23.9	2.9	2.2	3.9	4.9	8.2	13.7	25.1	44.6	98.9	211.7
1903	515.0	20.7	358.4	21.4	3.5	2.4	3.7	4.9	8.0	13.7	25.0	46.3	93.8	234.1
1904	524.0	20.5	330.5	24.5	3.3	2.8	3.4	5.0	8.2	14.2	24.6	46.6	101.7	220.0
1905	534.0	20.1	310.1	21.9	3.6	3.0	3.2	5.0	8.0	14.5	25.2	48.0	101.4	238.2
1906	544.0	18.0	278.5	17.0	3.8	1.9	3.4	4.5	7.6	13.1	23.0	45.5	94.7	196.5
1907	552.0	18.1	266.2	18.5	4.0	2.2	3.7	4.5	8.1	12.0	23.5	45.6	86.6	234.9
1908	561.0	17.9	249.2	16.1	4.4	2.4	3.6	4.4	7.6	13.2	23.7	48.3	101.9	216.7

1908. In other age-groups differences in rate are not quite so remarkable, but it is noteworthy that a distinct gain was made in every age-group. This indicates that the contention that a high infant mortality-rate tends to produce a hardier race has little weight.

Dr. Arthur Newsholme, medical officer of the local government board of England, in his 1909-10 report on "Infant and Child Mortality," arrives at a similar conclusion. He says:

"A heavy infant mortality implies a heavier death-rate up to five years of age; and right up to adult life the districts suffering from a heavy child mortality have higher death-rates than the districts whose infant mortality is low.

"A careful study of the death-rate of England and Wales during the last fifty years, at each of the first five years of life, leaves it doubtful whether any appreciably greater selection or 'weeding out' is exercised by a heavier than by a lighter infant mortality. Any such effect, if it exists, is concealed behind the overwhelming influence exerted by the evil environment to which children are exposed in districts of high infant mortality. It is strictly correct, therefore, to say that a high infant mortality implies a high prevalence of the conditions which determine national inferiority."

Berlin's history with respect to mortality is similar to that of Munich, although its gain since 1870 has not been quite as remarkable. As the records of Berlin have been carefully kept since 1721, we have a basis of comparison

of rates covering nearly two centuries. The city's advance in civilization is clearly indicated in Table 3.

TABLE 3

Death-Rates in Berlin, 1721-1909

Period	Average annual death-rate	Period	Average annual death-rate
1721-1730	40.65	1821-1830	29.53
1731-1740	44.68	1831-1840	31.70
1741-1750	37.95	1841-1850	27.16
1751-1760	40.48	1851-1860	27.32
1761-1770	37.45	1861-1870	31.89
1771-1780	40.08	1871-1880	32.71
1781-1790	35.64	1881-1890	25.84
1791-1800	34.87	1891-1900	20.29
1801-1810	41.27	1901-1905	17.94
1811-1820	31.88	1906-1909	15.45

The present death-rate of Berlin is only about one-third as great as the average rate from 1731 to 1740. It should also be noted that, while there were variations in rate from decade to decade, very little permanent gain was made prior to 1880. Since that time, the decline in the rate has been both rapid and permanent. That a considerable portion of the gain of the past three decades has been due to the saving of infant life, is shown by Table 4.

TABLE 4

Death-Rates in Berlin of Children During the First Year of Life, 1882-1907

Year	Deaths in 1,000 children born	Year	Deaths in 1,000 children born
1882	305.32	1895	278.87
1883	325.87	1896	243.39
1884	319.84	1897	247.64
1885	292.08	1898	239.75
1886	324.03	1899	260.13
1887	*	1900	266.45
1888	*	1901	257.97
1889	*	1902	214.86
1890	282.31	1903	227.60
1891	275.36	1904	235.24
1892	261.61	1905	239.27
1893	276.54	1906	213.96
1894	248.82	1907	196.73

In 1883, no less than 325 of every 1,000 children born in Berlin died within one year from birth. In 1907 the number dying in each 1,000 born had been reduced to 196, or forty per cent in 24 years. The limit of progress along this line is still far from being reached.

The experience of Munich and Berlin is the experience of every progressive city in Europe and America. Figures vary for reasons that we shall point out later, but everywhere people are learning that human life is worth conserving and can be conserved. Everywhere society is

* Data not available.

TABLE 6

Table Showing Death-Rates per 100,000 *from Pulmonary Tuberculosis and Typhoid Fever in Cities in Various Parts of the World,* 1908

City	Death-rate per 100,000		City	Death-rate per 100,000	
	Typhoid fever	Pulmonary tuberculosis		Typhoid fever	Pulmonary tuberculosis
Italy:			**Great Britain:**		
Rome	24	164	London	5	134
Milan	39	225	Belfast	3	231
Turin	13	221	Dublin	5	300
Venice	21	208			
Naples	6	134	**Netherlands:**		
			Amsterdam	13	130
Austria-Hungary:					
Vienna	4	275	**Norway:**		
Budapest	20	306	Christiania	2	218
Prague	13	384			
Trieste	21	362	**Rumania:**		
			Bucharest	33	347
Belgium:					
Brussels	10	149	**Russia:**		
			St. Petersburg	78	260
France:					
Paris	8	395			
Havre	30	416	**Spain:**		
Lille	4	265	Madrid	29	250
Nancy	20	280	Barcelona	100	214
Rouen	121	450			
			Sweden:		
United States:			Stockholm	2	234
Boston	26	174			
Detroit	24	119			
New York	12	200	**Switzerland:**		
			Berne	3	300
Germany:			Basel	4	151
Berlin	3	182	Geneva	7	268
Dresden	6	158	Zurich	5	183
Strasburg	24	194			

From Table 6 we note that the cities of Great Britain, Scandinavia and Switzerland,

have practically eliminated typhoid fever, while in Rouen, St. Petersburg and Barcelona it is still a prominent factor in causing death.

Tuberculosis is everywhere prevalent, but its ravages are much less deadly in some cities than in others. Detroit, Amsterdam, Brussels, Naples and London all show a low death-rate from this dread disease. In most of the other cities named much sanitary work still remains to be done.

A detailed comparison of death-rates in Munich, due to all the principal diseases from 1867 to 1908, was published in the 1909 report of the statistical bureau of that city. As the facts shown are of great value and as similar data covering a like period cannot be furnished by any American city, we reproduce the table in full.

The accompanying table (No. 7) is worthy of careful study. It indicates clearly the great progress that Munich has made in checking the ravages of preventable diseases as well as the work that may yet be done. In the forty years covered by the table, the death-rate from pulmonary tuberculosis has been cut down more than one-half, and that from diseases of the digestive organs more than three-fourths. The rate from cancer and from accident has slightly increased, but otherwise there has been great gain.

TABLE 7

Death-Rates in Munich for Forty-one Years, Classified According to the Principal Diseases Causing the Deaths

Year	Population in thousands	Bodily weakness	Old-age debility	Puerperal fever	Scarlet fever	Measles	Diphtheria and croup	Asthma	Typhoid and typhus fever	Pulmonary tuberculosis	Tuberculosis of other organs	Other preventable diseases: Syphilis	Other preventable diseases: Others	Pneumonia	Other lung diseases	Heart disease	Apoplexy	Diseases of the nervous system	Enteritis and other diseases of the digestive organs (Diarrhea excepted)	Diarrhea	Diseases of the womb	Cancer and tumors	Suicide	Murder	Accident	Other causes	General death-rate
1867-68	154.5	(2.0)	1.8	0.2	0.5	0.1	1.7	0.4	0.8	4.8	...	(0.15)	2.2	...	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.3	(12.3)	0.4	...	1.1	0.2	0.04	0.2	3.6	36.0
1868-69	159.0	(2.0)	1.8	0.1	0.3	0.4	1.8	0.4	1.3	4.9	...	(0.01)	2.0	...	1.4	1.1	1.0	1.2	(10.9)	0.0	...	0.7	0.2	0.02	0.3	3.8	34.4
1869-70	163.5	(2.0)	1.9	0.1	0.3	0.1	1.2	0.2	1.4	5.8	...	(0.04)	2.1	...	2.1	1.0	1.2	1.5	(11.6)	0.1	...	0.8	0.2	0.02	0.2	3.3	37.2
1871	167.2	(2.0)	2.0	0.1	0.9	0.3	1.3	0.4	1.3	6.1	...	(1.00)	2.8	...	2.2	1.4	1.6	1.5	(11.7)	0.1	...	0.9	0.2	0.04	0.3	5.1	41.6
1872	178.0	(2.0)	2.1	0.2	0.4	0.1	0.8	0.5	2.4	5.8	...	(0.62)	2.1	...	1.6	1.2	1.5	1.5	(13.5)	0.5	...	0.8	0.1	0.06	0.2	5.4	41.8
1873	178.8	(2.0)	2.4	0.2	0.2	0.2	1.0	0.2	1.3	5.1	...	(0.03)	2.6	...	1.6	1.1	1.3	1.3	(13.8)	0.1	...	0.8	0.1	0.01	0.3	4.1	43.6
1874	184.6	(2.0)	2.0	0.2	0.4	0.1	0.8	0.2	1.6	3.8	...	(0.01)	2.4	...	1.7	1.1	1.2	1.5	(13.5)	0.0	...	0.6	0.2	0.03	0.2	4.3	39.1
1875	190.6	(2.5)	1.8	0.2	0.3	0.3	1.2	0.5	1.2	4.5	...	(0.14)	2.4	...	1.5	1.2	1.2	1.2	12.1	0.0	...	0.8	0.2	0.02	0.3	4.1	36.4
1876	196.5	2.6	1.8	0.03	0.3	0.3	1.1	0.2	0.7	4.0	...	(0.14)	2.5	...	1.6	0.9	0.6	...	9.7	0.5	...	1.0	0.2	0.09	0.4	6.2	34.7
1877	208.8	2.1	1.6	0.04	0.2	0.2	1.0	0.1	0.8	4.0	...	(0.13)	2.3	0.6	1.9	1.0	0.6	1.2	11.2	0.6	0.8	0.7	0.2	0.07	0.3	5.1	36.0

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If Mayo-Smith was right in his statement that the death-rate is an index of civilization, then we may accept as in a high degree of civilization those cities that have a low death-rate. Is not the conservation of human life in reality the best test of civilization?

For a hundred years prior to 1880, the cities of Europe in matters of sanitation had been practically at a standstill. The death-rate varied from thirty to forty, according to the prevalence of war and epidemics, and the people seemed powerless to better matters. The situation appeared hopeless, but as we have seen, science came to the rescue and the new "city of health" has come into being. As scientists have learned little by little how to combat the deadly onset of disease germs and how to secure immunity from attack, cities have made corresponding improvements in their sanitary regulations. Not all cities are equally responsive in keeping pace with scientific advancement, but the city that lives up to its light is the one that is enjoying the highest degree of prosperity, and the one whose citizens are the most healthy.

If we compare the up-to-date city of to-day with any city of fifty years ago, we find very remarkable differences—differences which show the wonderful strides we have made. We note the most significant of these changes.

The modern city is clean. While some cities are more clean than others, all are clean compared to the cities of fifty years ago. Rough stone block and cobble-stone pavements which could not be well cleaned have given place to asphalt, smooth stone block, wood or brick, which can be washed as well as swept. The old practice was to clean the street when the dirt accumulated to such an extent that it became an obstruction to traffic. Main business streets were swept once or possibly twice a week and other streets once or twice a month. In wet weather a layer of mud covered the pavement and in dry, a layer of dust. The latter on windy days was lifted into the air and carried along the street or into buildings, and to a greater or less extent, into the lungs of unfortunate inhabitants. How much disease and death has been caused by such dust can never be determined, but it is now well known that street dust is heavily charged with germs, many of which are pathogenic, and it is probable that influenza, tuberculosis and common colds are often contracted by breathing dust-laden air. In well-kept cities of to-day there is little mud or dust. The streets of the busy section of a city are washed every day or night; even during the day dirt is not allowed to accumulate.

When a city's streets are kept clean the first step toward municipal cleanliness has been at-

tained. The second step is to secure clean houses and clean yards. This work is necessarily in part private and in part municipal. Municipal authorities cannot undertake to "clean house" for residents of houses. It may, however, act when some one is so grossly negligent that his house becomes a menace to the neighborhood, and the municipality can and should provide easy means for the disposal of the waste of households.

It is remarkable how little attention was given until recent years to the sanitary disposal of waste. Cities have had sewers for thousands of years. At first sewers were merely drainage pipes to carry off surface water and drain the soil; later they were connected with waterworks systems and received waste water; their use in carrying off the flushings of water-closets is comparatively new. In many old cities of Europe and America a considerable number of houses are even yet without sanitary water-closets. Just how much of the gain in the death-rate we can attribute to the introduction of this sanitary convenience is difficult to determine. We may be certain, however, that it has been a factor of no little importance.

While the sanitary water-closet is now recognized as an essential part of every home, there is no general agreement as to the best methods of disposing of various forms of household

refuse. Some municipalities have a separate collection for ashes, garbage and other rubbish, while others have all put together and taken up at one collection. When thus collected together the mass is usually burned; when collected separately ashes are used for filling or grading; garbage is treated in a reduction plant and the other rubbish is sorted, valuable parts are sold and the rest is burned. The exact methods employed do not here concern us. The significant thing is that the modern up-to-date city is now disposing of its household waste in a clean and sanitary manner. The city as a whole is thereby made cleaner and healthier and households are enabled to rid themselves of materials, which if left to accumulate, would become intolerable nuisances and menaces to health. With a few possible exceptions, cities everywhere fifty years ago left householders to dispose of waste as they saw fit. Naturally people utilized garbage to feed cows and pigs and distributed ashes in their gardens, or allowed them to be carted away for grading. The refuse from many stables in the city would be carted to the country to be used in fertilizing the soil. As the cities grew these primitive methods became intolerable and less offensive means of disposing of refuse were introduced. The keeping of pigs and cows in thickly settled parts of large cities was found to be incom-

patible with a high standard of cleanliness and the practice was discontinued. The keeping of horses was continued because their use was deemed indispensable. The past decade, however, has witnessed the rapid displacement of the horse by the automobile.

The modern city has a pure water supply. The Romans recognized the value of pure water and built aqueducts across plains to hills in order to furnish cities with water from uncontaminated sources. After Rome fell aqueducts were often ruined and some were not restored until the latter part of the last century. Rome, like many other cities of Europe, was content to use for hundreds of years water drawn from wells sunk in its streets or from the river into which the filth of the city drained. Modern cities have filled up old wells and constructed filters to purify river water in case they have been obliged to use it. The provision for and the safeguarding of a city's water supply is now the most sacred duty of a city government.

The modern city procures wholesome food for its people. While the purchase and sale of food are usually transactions between individuals, the city affords the means of distribution and regulates the quality of the food sold. The up-to-date city maintains a laboratory to test foods of all kinds and the dealer who sells goods that

do not meet the requirements of the statute is fined or otherwise punished. Meats, milk, butter and cheese are carefully inspected and any article unfit for consumption is not permitted to be sold. Perishable goods are kept intact by cold storage. The use of ice in homes, while a comparatively new departure, is of the highest importance as a sanitary measure. The modern refrigerator has practically eliminated diseases arising from the presence of germs and ptomaines in food.

The modern city has sanitary homes and facilities for recreation. As these matters are fully discussed in another part of this work, we refer to them here only to emphasize their importance in connection with the lowering of the death-rate. To become strong, children must have a good place to play and a good place to rest. The laborer cannot long remain strong and healthy if the comfort of a good airy room in which he can sleep is denied him. The modern city aims to provide these simple necessities, and in doing so lengthens the lives of its citizens.

Most of the sanitary ideas incorporated in the new city which make it different from the old, are the outgrowth of recently acquired knowledge of bacteria.

About thirty-five years ago, while working in his laboratory in the Sorbonne, Louis Pasteur

laid the foundation of present knowledge of bacteria. The existence of micro-organisms had been known for many years, but before Pasteur's discoveries no one scarcely dreamed of the influence these minute germs exert on human welfare. We can hardly realize the fact that within the present generation the whole science of medicine has been revolutionized and the new science of sanitation developed. Medical books written before 1880 are now practically worthless and old methods of treating and checking contagious diseases have been discarded.

Pasteur's discovery of the work of bacteria in causing disease is undoubtedly the greatest single contribution ever made to human welfare. No other factor has done so much to conserve human life and none has been so instrumental in building up cities. Before the nature of contagious and infectious diseases was known, people looked upon an epidemic as a visitation of the Almighty and acknowledged themselves helpless in its presence. When an epidemic broke out in a community the braver members would face it, while the more cowardly would flee to other towns. If it happened that before fleeing they had been exposed to the disease their flight served to spread the contagion rather than to protect themselves. An epidemic, like a conflagration, would in-

crease in violence and then gradually die down for want of new material to feed upon.

The story of these epidemics forms a sad chapter in human history. The bubonic plague, small-pox, scarlet fever, diphtheria, syphilis and cholera, have all wrought havoc to cities. We can contemplate only with pity the helplessness of man even a hundred years ago in the presence of most of these diseases.

Although often lacking a scientific basis, some progressive steps in warding off contagious disease had been taken before the time of Pasteur. It was in 1798 that Edward Jenner gave to the world immunity from small-pox through vaccination. While it is claimed by many that civilized man has now advanced beyond the need of vaccination, there is no doubt that Jenner's discovery was a great boon to the human race. Small-pox is a most loathsome disease and at one time was one of the most prominent causes of mortality in cities. Besides securing a large measure of immunity from vaccination, we have now learned to detect and isolate cases of this disease, so that the number of exposures is constantly becoming less and very few deaths result therefrom.

The introduction of diphtheria antitoxin in 1894 marked another epoch in the treatment of contagious disease. Not only was the rate of mortality from diphtheria greatly reduced, but

the spread of the disease was likewise effectually checked. The success of this antitoxin has led to much experimentation with the hope of producing effective agents to combat other germ diseases. Although nothing as remarkable as the diphtheria antitoxin has as yet been produced, a number of valuable serums for the treatment of tetanus, pneumonia, rabies and other diseases have been prepared.

Ehrlich's remedy for syphilis, while not fully meeting claims first made for it, is doing much to check the dissemination of this scourge. The study of malaria and yellow fever has resulted in discoveries as to the nature and spread of these diseases and has pointed the way to their elimination. The pestiferous mosquito has been clearly convicted of complicity in their deadly work, and is now doomed to annihilation. In this connection, it is worthy of note that the construction of the Panama Canal, now nearing completion, was made possible by the discovery of the transmission of yellow fever by mosquitoes. The mortality of workmen under De Lesseps was so great that the work had to be abandoned.

Scarcely less noteworthy are the precautions taken in modern society against the spread of contagious diseases of all kinds. Materials that have been in contact with persons afflicted with contagious diseases are disinfected or de-

stroyed and diseased persons are isolated. The ideal now sought is the prevention of possible contamination of one person by another. Common drinking cups, common communion cups and common towels, are all being banished and individual articles substituted. The value of this precaution is especially great in public schools and in large offices and factories where people from all sorts of home conditions mingle freely with one another. The time is not long past when the public school was a prominent factor in the spread of contagious diseases. Fortunately greater intelligence on the part of teachers and school managers, greater cleanliness in the school-room, more sunshine, more fresh air, together with the precautions just described, have rendered the public school comparatively safe.

The greatest gain of the past decade is seen in the improvement of methods for the protection of society against the great white plague, tuberculosis. While it has been known for many years that tuberculosis is a germ disease, medical skill, until recent times, was powerless either to cure the disease or to check its spread. The disease would not respond to ordinary therapeutic methods and was counted practically incurable. Thanks, however, to modern science tuberculosis is now being checked in its ravages and incipient cases are cured. The

medical profession holds that this most persistent plague of mankind may eventually be practically annihilated. To do this, of course, will require better homes for the people and more intelligent living, but there is now no question that the disease belongs to the so-called filth diseases, and is therefore subject to the control of man.

Typhoid fever also is gradually being eliminated. This dread disease has figured largely in the death-rates of cities throughout the world. As it is principally transmitted by drinking water its prevalence in the main is due to impure sources of water-supply. Too often people of cities have been compelled to drink water infected with typhoid germs through the sewage of other towns. Cholera, while differing widely from typhoid fever in its symptoms, has been disseminated in practically the same manner. The latter disease has been almost entirely done away with in Europe and America, with the exception of occasional outbreaks in cities on the Mediterranean. Whenever a case of either disease is now discovered, an effort is made to find and remove the cause. Some cities are filtering their water-supply, others are going to great expense to secure a supply that shall be free from contamination.

An examination of the accompanying tables of comparative death-rates in various years in

Munich will show that, while there has been a marked reduction in that city in deaths caused by contagious and infectious diseases, there has been an even greater reduction in deaths caused by diseases of the digestive organs. The most common of these are indigestion, enteritis, diarrhea and cholera morbus, and the victims are mainly children. As the exciting cause in these diseases is usually pathogenic bacteria taken in with the food, the use of pure food prevents their occurrence. The experience of Munich is probably not unlike the experience of many other cities, although few have the statistics at hand necessary to demonstrate the fact.

On What Does the Death-Rate Depend?

In comparing the death-rates of cities we have noted remarkable differences. Some of the rates are easily accounted for, while others seem unaccountable. Facts appear to justify the following conclusions:

1. The death-rate does not depend on the size of the city. London, the world's metropolis, has a death-rate (14) much lower than many smaller cities, and its rate has decreased as its population has increased. This has been due partly to the annexation of suburbs in which conditions of living are extremely favorable, and partly to the improved sanitary management of the city. The decrease of the death-

rate in London has not, however, been as marked as that of some smaller cities. New York, our American metropolis, in 1910, had a death-rate of 16, which was approximately the same as the rate throughout the State. In spite of the rapid increase in density of population in Manhattan Borough the death-rate since 1895 has steadily declined. Richmond Borough, which in comparison is sparsely settled, has a much higher death-rate. The lowest death-rates are found in the small garden cities of England, which have been specially planned for human habitation. These towns have each only a few thousand inhabitants and were recently built. Their death-rates thus far have been less than 10 per thousand, in some cases less than 5, but it is improbable that such low rates can be maintained.

2. The death-rate does not depend on nationality or race. Cities inhabited by people of the same race differ greatly in death-rates. Dresden, in 1909, had a death-rate of 14, while Breslau had a rate of 20.3. Turin and Venice are both Italian towns and yet the former had a death-rate of 15.4 and the latter one of 22.1. Dublin's death-rate was 22.4, while Belfast's was 18.2. Russian cities have high death-rates, but it has not been shown that the Russian, under favorable circumstances, is shorter lived than the German or Englishman. Likewise the high

death-rates among negroes is due more to neglect and poverty than to race.

3. The death-rate does not depend on the age of the city. It is true that some young cities like Chicago and St. Paul have low death-rates, but it is also true that the rates have declined as the towns have grown older. Rome, a modernized, ancient city, enjoys a death-rate as low as that of many newer cities. When cities allowed their waste to accumulate in streets and open places, when earth closets were in use, when water was drawn from wells, people poisoned themselves with their own filth and the older the town became the more virulent the poison. Happily all that is now done away with, and there remains no reason why a city should grow less healthful with age. On the contrary, age brings the opportunity and wealth necessary for improvements that may greatly assist in prolonging life.

4. The death-rate depends only slightly on climatic conditions. As extremes of heat and cold are unfavorable to human life, great cities are rarely found outside the temperate zones. Inside these zones, however, man has learned to protect himself from heat and cold, so that he suffers little from either. The death-rate among adults in cities is higher in winter than in summer, but among children under five years the reverse obtains. The long winter of north-

ern countries saps the vitality of adults and renders the system an easy prey to germs. On the other hand, the heat of the summer months causes rapid multiplication of germs in food, and at the same time disturbs the working of the digestive system. The twentieth century man has learned to overcome these defects in his natural environment. He builds houses and burns coal to keep him warm in winter and he uses ice and electric fans to keep him cool in summer. Moreover, he dresses according to the season. If he is sensitive to heat or cold, he goes north or south to find a more agreeable climate. Thus man escapes the effects of what otherwise might prove an injurious environment. The very poor, unfortunately, are unable so to shield themselves and many of them succumb to heat and cold.

Cities in northwestern Europe as a rule have low death-rates. The direct effect of climate in producing these results is problematical. That the people of Denmark and Sweden are a hardy, thrifty race is no doubt due to their environment, of which climate is no inconsiderable part. They have the ingrained habit of overcoming obstacles, and consequently have been more ready to accept and make use of the discoveries of modern science in the promotion of public health than their less thrifty southern neighbors.

The recent great reduction in death-rates in cities of southern Italy shows that death is not a natural concomitant of sunshine and heat in that delightful country. It is probable that, when the people of Naples and neighboring towns have secured better housing conditions and have learned to safeguard the lives of children, the death-rate of that region will not be higher than that of northwestern Europe.

The experience of St. Petersburg and Montreal show that cities in cold climates may have high death-rates.

Other things being equal, we should expect an abundant rainfall to be unfavorable to human life. A large amount of rain causes dampness in houses and prevents people from living in the open air. Likewise, clouds and fogs are not as favorable as sunshine. Germs prosper in dampness and darkness, but rapidly disappear in sunshine. On the other hand an abundance of rain keeps down dust in cities and carries away such dirt as may be left on streets after the ordinary process of cleaning.

In primitive communities heat and cold, rainfall and other features of the climate, such as winds and storms, produce a decided effect on the health of the people, but civilization has neutralized their influence to a very large extent.

5. The death-rate depends on the water supply and the drainage. It has been clearly dem-

onstrated that cholera and typhoid fever and some other diseases are disseminated by impure drinking water. Cities that use unfiltered river water containing sewage from towns farther up the stream, almost always suffer from typhoid fever. Prior to 1899 Albany, New York, used without filtration the water of the Hudson River, which received the sewage of Troy, Watervliet and Cohoes, a group of cities farther up the river. Naturally, typhoid fever became unusually prevalent in Albany, amounting at times to an epidemic. A modern filtration plant was then constructed and since 1899 has been successfully operated. The number of deaths from typhoid fever, which for ten years prior to 1889 averaged 84 per year, immediately declined, the average for the past ten years (1902-12) being 21.

The city of Hamburg, Germany, had a similar experience. The river Elbe, from which it drew its water-supply, received its sewage as well as that of many other towns. The incoming tide carried sewage back above the intake for the water-supply, so that at times Hamburg was actually drinking its own sewage. In 1893 a new filtration plant was put into operation in this old Hansa town and other sanitary reforms were accomplished. Since the installation of the filtration plant only one slight outbreak of cholera has occurred, and it was discovered

that this was caused by a leakage from the river into the tunnel which conveyed the filtered water from the filtration plant to the pumping station. The death-rate responded to the new improvements. The average rate for the five years, 1886-1890, was 25.3, while that of the five years, 1896-1900, was only 17.3. The rate has now been reduced to less than 15.

Naples, far-famed for beauty of location, as well as for dirt, fleas and beggars, is another typical example of the beneficial effects of a good water-supply. Cholera gains a frequent entrance into the port of Naples, and until recent years the people seemed helpless in its presence. After the great epidemic of 1884 the Italian government took a hand in the renovation of Naples. One of the first things done was to secure a pure water-supply from the mountains of Avellino, about sixty miles away. Other improvements followed, and the city virtually took on new life. Epidemics of cholera became rare and typhoid fever almost disappeared. A death-rate of 33 was gradually cut down until, in 1908, the rate was 21.84. While this is still a high death-rate, it must be remembered that Naples has a large proportion of illiterate and impoverished inhabitants.

6. The death-rate depends on housing conditions. Wherever people live in cellars, basements or attics, in rear tenements, or in crowded

conditions in tenements or shacks, there will be found a high death-rate. Poverty, ignorance, depravity and depressing and unhealthful surroundings all combine in the work of destroying human lives. To live and prosper a person must have good food, good clothing and shelter, fresh air, sunshine and an opportunity for healthful exercise and quiet rest. In the slums all these are absent, and the lamp of life not being replenished soon goes out. No one who has gone through the slums of a great city will question the relation of housing conditions to the death-rate. That young children survive such an environment at all is almost a miracle.

Statistics gathered in Berlin, Budapest, Washington and New York all confirm the obvious fact that people do not flourish in an unwholesome environment. A more detailed discussion of this matter is given in the chapter on housing conditions.[1]

7. The death-rate depends on the general management of a city. Cities differ greatly in their management and in the protection afforded citizens against fire, disease and crime. The criminal class flock to the towns where the police are inefficient and law enforcement is lax. In such towns the social evil, with its concomitant diseases, gets a firmer foothold and

[1] Chapter III.

drunkenness and crimes of violence become more common.

Cleveland and Cincinnati are sometimes compared as illustrating differences in human welfare in a well-managed and in an ill-managed city. Cleveland, for the past decade, has enjoyed the reputation of being the best governed city in America, while Cincinnati's government has been counted one of the worst. Under the same management the one city ought to be as healthful as the other. The average annual death-rate of Cleveland, from 1901 to 1905, was 15.5, while that of Cincinnati for the same period was 19.3. In the year 1909, Cleveland's rate was 12.9, while Cincinnati's was 16.4. Cleveland could have had two thousand more deaths in the year 1909 without exceeding Cincinnati's rate. Cleveland's increase in population from 1900 to 1910 was 46.9 per cent, while Cincinnati's was only 11.8.

The great reduction in the past quarter century in death-rates in the cities of Germany and Italy is at least partially due to the better management of recent years.

8. The death-rate depends on the economic condition of the people. It is a well-known fact that mortality is greater among the poor than among the middle and wealthy classes. The poor often have not sufficient food to keep up the vitality of the body, and are exposed to

contagion and accidents to a much greater degree than more prosperous classes. In many cities during periods of hard times, a large proportion of the population are reduced below the line of self-maintenance. The community must care for the poorer classes or they will become diseased and a portion will perish. Before modern methods of caring for the poor were instituted, the mortality among dependents in times of crises was exceedingly great, and even now there is no doubt that the high death-rates of some cities are largely due to the failure of the community properly to safeguard the lives of the poor.

Under the Elberfeld system of caring for the poor, which is in vogue in many German cities, much of the extreme poverty formerly prevalent is avoided, and the unfortunate people are not permitted to be a prey to contagious diseases. Under the Elberfeld system a city is divided into districts, and in each district a number of friendly visitors work under a district superintendent in such a systematic way that every family is under surveillance. If any family becomes unable properly to maintain itself, the fact is immediately reported to the authorities and steps are taken to give the help needed. The advantage of this method over the old, that consisted in helping poor families to secure

medical assistance and properly to bury their dead, can hardly be estimated.

9. The death-rate depends on the habits of the people. Communities vary greatly in habits with respect to the use of alcoholic beverages, sexual indulgence and gambling. While the effect of these habits cannot be definitely measured, enough is known to enable safe conclusions to be drawn. The free use of alcoholic liquors shortens life. Every investigation of the subject confirms the fact. It follows, therefore, that, other things being equal, communities that use strong drink to excess will have higher death-rates than those who do not. The low death-rates of the cities of Norway and Sweden could scarcely be maintained by a less sober people. The communities of some of the Western States, from which alcohol as a beverage has been banished entirely, have remarkably low death-rates. However, no one can say with any degree of definiteness just how much total abstinence has contributed to the result. Poverty, brutality, and crime accompany the excessive use of alcoholic beverages and contribute their share of the dire results.

Prostitution likewise brings with it a train of evils that result in disease, insanity and death. Venereal disease is disseminated almost entirely by prostitution. Owing to the disgrace accompanying these diseases, there are no reliable

statistics of their prevalence or of the mortality resulting from them. We may be certain, however, that they constitute an important factor in determining the death-rate in many communities.

Syphilis gives rise to locomotor ataxia, general paresis and many other fatal diseases. As its taint is passed on to the children of the afflicted, it is rightly considered one of the most terrible of all contagious diseases.

Gonorrhea, although less dreaded, is a most serious disease. Its persistence in women, its dire effects in causing blindness and death in infants, are too well known to need emphasis.

There can be no doubt that communities in which prostitution flourishes have an increased death-rate as a reward of their immorality. Gambling and some other vices affect life indirectly by causing excitement, worry, loss of sleep and poverty. In communities where gambling prevails, false standards of wealth-getting are set up. Healthy occupation gives way to the anxiety to get something for nothing. Poverty and despair follow bitter disappointment and disease or suicide lurk over the ruined life.

In making comparisons of death-rates in cities it should be borne in mind that the crude death-rate is not always a fair basis of comparison. Women live longer than men, and

there are fewer deaths in some age-groups than in others. To make an absolutely just comparison of death-rates, therefore, corrections would have to be made for sex and age. This would not be difficult if the data were at hand, but it is not easy to secure reliable, up-to-date facts in regard to the distribution of the population by age and sex in growing cities. In the absence of such data the crude death-rate is preferable to corrections based on estimates.

CHAPTER IX

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

THE form of government is as important for a municipality as it is for a larger political division. To argue that the kind of a charter in operation has very little to do with the efficiency of municipal administration, would be just as unreasonable as to contend that law was a negligible factor in the civil conduct of individuals. It is true that law does not determine completely the behavior of the citizen; indeed, observance of law depends upon the total moral and intellectual basis of the individual. A civil law is always an ideal of the law-making power; it is generally far ahead of the willingness or the ability of a large proportion of the citizens of any country to obey it. But the existence of a body of law serves not only as a rule of action, but also as an educator and civilizer. It tends to stimulate the citizen toward the ideal which it embodies. By means of the authority back of it a cumulative impression of respect is cultivated for it from generation to generation through the operation of the law of habit. It thus reacts upon the behavior of the citizen for the good of society.

The particular form of a law has much to do with its effectiveness. If the law be unreasonable, unpractical or fails to voice the ethical and intellectual standards recognized by the people, it becomes ineffective. A law may thus fail, either because it is too historic, or out-of-date, or too prophetic, or ahead of its time. The case is similar with charters or other laws governing the conduct of municipalities. The form is very important. It is true, of course, that bad men will make any form ineffective; it is equally true that good men are retarded from rendering the best service to a city because of a cumbersome, unpractical, expensive and inefficient instrument of government. An examination, therefore, of the antecedents of the system which obtains pretty generally throughout the United States, of the system itself, and of the other system which is gradually emerging from the old may be profitable.

I. *Administration by a Close Corporation*

Previous to 1835 there existed in England and Wales municipal [1] corporations authorized as follows:

(1) By common law, deriving their power

[1] Commentaries on the Law of Municipal Corporations. By John F. Dillon. Vol. I, Chapter III, p. 79. Also First Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Municipal Corporations of England and Wales. Ordered to be printed 30th March, 1835.

from immemorial usage, the original act creating them not being recorded and long since having dropped out of memory. (2) By prescription, presupposing a grant by charter or act of parliament. (3) By royal charter. (4) By authority of parliament. As will appear, there was no uniformity either in the constitution or powers of these corporations. There was really no municipal corporation in the strict sense of the term. There were simply corporations of small select bodies within the boroughs which had the power extended to them of governing these boroughs, irrespective of any attitude citizens might assume. The corporation included a mayor, a definite number of aldermen and an indefinite number of the commonalty, or freemen. No act of the corporation was valid without the presence of the mayor, a majority of the aldermen and a few of the freemen.

Under this general method of incorporating and managing boroughs, great abuses inevitably existed. The reformed House of Commons in 1833 presented an address to William IV, asking for the appointment of a commission to inquire into the state of municipal corporations in England and Wales. This commission was appointed and did a thorough-going piece of work; its report became the basis of the municipal corporation act of 5 and 6 William IV,

Chapter LXXVI, enacted September 9, 1835, one of the most significant pieces of legislation ever put forth in any country. But the report reveals an astounding state of affairs for a liberty and fairplay-loving people. The marvel is that these conditions were endured for such a long period.

The evils which the commissions discovered were:[1]

1. Municipal corporations were formed by a close and corrupt system of election in the majority of cases.

2. Lack of uniformity in the ways in which charters originated and powers granted them.

(a) Two hundred and forty-six municipal corporations were reported, including a population exceeding 2,000,000. Some of them claimed to act under prescriptive custom, but most of them under several charters reaching back in some cases to a very early date. The number of corporators in fifty of these was definite, ranging from ten to thirty; in sixty-two, indefinite, ranging from twelve to five thousand, but the average was fifty to two hundred.

(b) The privilege of citizenship for freedom was given in a variety of ways, that is to say,

[1] Glover's Historical Summary of the Corporate System of Great Britain and Ireland, pp. 38-45.

by birth, servitude, marriage, purchase, gift or election.

(c) Some municipalities exercised exclusive criminal jurisdiction extending even to felonies and other offenses; others had no criminal jurisdiction whatsoever. Some possessed civil jurisdiction over all actions, others could cover personal and mixed actions, still others dealt with personal actions, but some municipalities had no civil jurisdiction whatsoever.

(d) An unjust amount of revenue was exacted from municipalities of varying ability to pay. In some the amount of property was trivial; in others it amounted to a very considerable sum, and yet all had to pay an equal sum.

(e) They were conducted in an extravagant and unbusiness-like manner. The total annual income of these municipalities was about 366,000 pounds, and expenditure 377,000 pounds. The indebtedness of 133 of them exceeded two million pounds.

(f) In a few municipalities, accounts were properly kept, printed for distribution and audited publicly; in others there was not even a pretense of accounting for moneys spent and received.

3. Complaints were made to the commissioners to the effect that

(a) Magistrates were ignorant, partial and corrupt.

(b) Courts were made the instruments of local advantage.

(c) Juries were improperly selected and were liable to be influenced by partizan considerations in their verdicts.

(d) Revenues were mis-applied.

(e) Debts were contracted fraudulently.

(f) Property was alienated.

(g) Absence of accounts and a denial of accountability to the citizens by the officials.

(h) Insufficient police protection.

(i) Lack of paving and lighting.

(j) Want of municipal accommodations for which the property entrusted to the corporations, if properly managed, would be ample.

4. The most fundamental defect discovered by the commissioners was that these municipal corporations existed independent of the communities in which they were found. The municipal corporation and the community were two separate entities. To the former was given a charter to manage the latter according to its own judgment. The community had no more voice in the management of its own affairs than if it existed in a state of feudalism. All sorts of irregularities were encouraged by this system. Local privileges were sometimes granted

to outsiders. When funds were misappropriated, there was no redress, even if errors could be discovered. These self-elected bodies continued themselves and their friends in power indefinitely. They belonged to a definite political party and this insured the return to parliament of members of this particular party, since the corporations had the power of returning members for the borough. Do we wonder that the kings of England, especially the Tudors, played fast and loose with the boroughs? Do we wonder that there were rotten and pocket boroughs? This system, *prima facie,* resulted in complete domination of municipal management by the politics of the realm.

These traditions were handed down to the people of the United States when they became an independent sovereign power in 1776. If the American Revolution had occurred sixty years later, who can tell but that the conduct of municipal government would have become very different in the United States? James Bryce says: "There is no denying that the government of cities is the one conspicuous failure of the United States. The deficiencies of the national government tell but little for evil on the welfare of the people. The faults of the state government are insignificant compared with the extravagance, corruption, and mismanagement which have marked the admin-

istration of most of the great cities." [1] This remark can be matched by saying that up to the year 1835, municipal management was the one conspicuous failure of government in Great Britain. Of course, cities had not had at that time the enormous growth which came in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and therefore corruption could not be conducted on such a tremendous scale, but if the report of the commissioners be reliable, a brief extract from which is given above, it was just as prevalent and even more iniquitous. The American city once in a while would take things into its own hands and the perpetrators of corruption would be brought to the bars of justice, but there was no redress in the old-time British city.

But the municipal legislation of 1835 brought about a miraculous change in Great Britain. Some of the provisions were:

1. Uniformity of constitution for municipal government.

2. Uniform and definite qualifications for burgesses or citizens.

"Every male person of full age, who shall have occupied any house, warehouse, counting-house, or shop within any borough" for a period of three years. "And during the time of such occupancy been an inhabitant householder with-

[1] The American Commonwealth. By James Bryce. Vol. I, p. 642 (Ed. 1911).

in the borough, or within seven miles of the borough, shall, if duly enrolled, be a burgess of such borough, provided he shall have been rated in respect to the premises so occupied by him to all rates made for the relief of the poor within the parish"—these and these only were to be members of the municipal corporation. The other inhabitants of a municipality were not corporate members of it, but nevertheless were subject to the government of the corporation.

3. Method of choosing councilors. On the first of November in each year it was declared that the "Burgesses so enrolled in every borough shall openly assemble and elect from the persons qualified to be councilors the councilors of the borough." Any citizen could become a councilor provided his rating was sufficient. The term was three years, and one-third of the councilors were to retire annually. The voting was openly done in the presence of the mayor and the assessors.

4. Choice of aldermen. The aldermen, numbering one-third of the councilors, were elected for a term of six years, one-half of them retiring triennially. They were to be chosen by the councilors on the ninth of November in every third succeeding year. They could be elected from the councilors, or such citizens as were qualified to be councilors.

5. The mayor. The mayor was chosen for

one year. The choice was made on November ninth from among the councilors or aldermen. There was no salary. He simply presided at meetings of the council.

6. The council was composed of the mayor, aldermen and councilors. It was empowered to elect as stated aldermen and the mayor, to conduct the affairs of the municipality and to undertake anything for the good of the municipality not forbidden expressly by law. It was not empowered to license the sale of liquor, or to dispense public charity. Within its province were streets, pavements, parks, public buildings, better-housing for workmen, baths, museums, art galleries, places of recreation, the public health, sewers, isolation, hospitals, city lighting, tramways, markets, cemeteries, ferries, police and fire protection. It could own and operate public utilities such as tramways, lighting, water-supply, etc. It could clean the city, supply watchers, administer justice, own, sell and mortgage property, charge rates, maintain bridges, promote public libraries, provide for the safe-keeping of petroleum, etc.

The provisions of this act were modified in many particulars by the legislation of 1882, although fundamental things remained unchanged. The significant thing is that this act of 1835 transformed the system of municipal government in Great Britain very completely.

Incompetence disappeared and the cities became efficiently managed. All forms of graft were wiped out. The most stringent provisions were made to protect the municipalities from corrupt practises. Any person found guilty of corrupt or illegal practise could never thereafter either hold public office or exercise the right of voting. If the guilty person had been elected councilor, he could be unseated. The agent of a councilor guilty of corrupt practise could also be disenfranchised.

II. *The Federal Form*

As we have seen, even previous to the American revolution of 1776, our form of municipal administration was patterned after that of Great Britain. The predominating element of our population was then of British stock. It was inevitable that the British system should be transferred to us. The colonies were British, the first municipal charters were granted by the British crown. Mayor, alderman, borough, etc., are words which show our heritage. We have seen what this system was. A council presided over by a mayor. The prerevolutionary city exercised very little legislative or administrative power. But after the Revolution cities assumed important proportions. With the United States an independent sovereign power, the city attracted attention and became more thoroughly

organized. But the constitution did not provide a basis for adequate local government. The people were absorbed in the federal problem, and municipal government became an echo of the national administration. The mayor in the British system became a chief executive with veto power. Heretofore he had been merely a presiding officer at meetings of the council. This additional prestige given to the office of mayor has caused the federal form of municipal government to be known as the "mayor system." The council itself became for the most part bicameral, a legislature and a senate. In England the aldermen were the creatures of the British council, but in the United States the office of alderman becomes elective, like that for the common council. The mayor also in time became an elective officer, and no longer a creature of the council. Through such a cumbersome system of administration and the transfer of supreme power from the council to the mayor it became possible for scheming persons to control public office for private ends on a very elaborate scale.

Political feeling during the early days of the Republic ran high. Contests between parties became intense. Federal politics were introduced into municipal affairs. This was carried to such a pass that frequently, during a municipal campaign, the needs of a city would be

passed by with slight consideration. Bridges, roads, water-supply, sewerage, gas-works, the moral betterment of the community, etc., were sacrificed for national issues. A mayor might claim the suffrage of his fellow citizens just because he was a member of one of the great political parties. This unfortunate condition of things lent itself admirably to the demagogue and the "boss," who could always appeal to the prejudices of the electorate in matters of national politics, in order to keep in power men who had been put in office, not for the interest of the community, but for the interest of a particular political party in state and federal administrations.

In addition to this, both in Europe and America, because of the great industrial developments that followed the French and American revolutions, there was an inrush to the cities. Cities in the old world were better organized than here to receive this accretion. It became a severe tax even for a well-organized city. Managers of political parties very naturally directed attention toward this accretion and found that in many cities it could be manipulated in their interest. The accretion was partly homogeneous, that is of the same stock as the original settlers, and partly heterogeneous, that is, made up of foreigners. The greater growth of the city, developments along industrial lines, shifting very

rapidly the centers of wealth as well as creating wealth, and many other factors, made the administration of cities a very difficult task. We are considering the difficulty of the task from the viewpoint of a serious attempt at solving the problem. But because of the presence of the manipulator directing all forces in the interest of larger political concerns, it was left untouched and cities relapsed into the hands of the criminal and vicious, or those who administered them for selfish interests. All sorts of inducements were offered voters and were generally accepted in the form of bribes for a vote, either as money or some other consideration. Vote-buying came to be a regular and taken-for-granted thing. To supply the funds wealthy corporations and others desiring franchises from cities had to be looked to. In this very natural way a system of privileges was developed on a very large scale and the public had to suffer from mismanagement, which meant to it unnecessary loss of life and money.

For the same purpose, namely the interests of state and national politics, cities were deprived of the privilege of local government almost entirely. They had to look to state legislatures for the most trivial things affecting their administration. This servile dependence gave to politicians entire control of the welfare of cities. No student of municipal government

would claim that cities should be allowed complete self-government. This is impossible while the city is a part of a larger political division. The city, as a state, has completely disappeared from modern life. State and federal supervision of cities is necessary. The city is an item in the larger political scheme. But common sense would indicate that supervision of the superior sovereign power should not be of such a nature as to frustrate the purposes of local administration. The ideal is to afford local administration the largest possible opportunity for its own ends, consistent with the necessities of the state and nation. The practical working out of the federal system in this country did not admit complete home rule. In their evolution and development our cities have been stripped of home rule at every opportunity.

Multiplicity of offices was developed in connection with the spoils system. A large number of these were sinecures, useful to pay election debts. In a city like New York the blanket-ballot appears to voters like a page from the directory of a strange city. Intelligent action by the voter does not count. The thing to do—the thing expected by the political machine—is to cast a straight ticket. We need not enumerate the defects in the practical working out of the federal plan any further. The catalogue of its defects is brief but sad—the managing of

cities, not for the sake of the community but for the sake of political parties, the placing of a premium on inefficiency, encouragement of the "spoils system," concentration of power in the mayor, bartering of precious franchises to corporations for which cities, in the majority of cases, themselves received nothing in return, systematic corruption, long and unwieldy ballots—all of these and many more affecting the well-being of the communities in health, wealth and morals, show very conclusively that the federal form of administration as a rule [1] has proved a failure. The American people are awakening to the need of very fundamental reform in the business of municipal administration.

III. *The Commission Form*

Just as the present splendid port of Genoa was brought into existence by the destruction of life and property by great storms in the Mediterranean, so was the commission form of government born from the misfortunes of the people of Galveston, Texas. The story of its birth is now trite, but the ideal of government

[1] A few noteworthy instances of efficient city government are found under the federal plan. Cleveland, under Tom Johnson, and Toledo, under Mayors Jones and Whitlock, are brilliant exceptions to the general rule. In these cases the personnel of the mayor and his council rose superior to the system.

that came into the world with it is growing in interest and is destined, as we believe, to transform municipal administration in the United States. Galveston had suffered all the iniquities of the federal plan. Then "On September 8, 1900, a hurricane, driving up from the southeast with unusual violence, swept the waters of the Gulf of Mexico over Galveston." [1] Property and life were destroyed and the city became a defaulter. The administration was helpless; something had to be done. The Deepwater Committee, an organization of business men for harbor improvement, took the matter in hand, made a study of city charters, framed a new one, and in view of the failure of municipal government in Galveston for the previous twenty years, recommended its adoption to the legislature of Texas. In the petition the committee stated: "It is hoped that the central idea of the new charter—that of a commission—embodies the practical solution of that hitherto unsolved problem—how to govern cheaply and well, a municipal corporation. We are asking for a charter, placing the entire control of the local government in the hands of five commissioners, designed to benefit the people rather than to provide sinecures for politicians." [2] The char-

[1] Commission Government in American Cities, by Ernest S. Bradford, p. 3.

[2] Article by E. R. Cheesborough, Galveston Tribune, Dec. 31, 1901.

ter was granted to Galveston and went into effect September 18, 1901. At once there was a different condition of affairs. In spite of the great calamity, the terrible destruction of life and property, and the mismanagement of twenty years, Galveston came under the sway of good and economical government.

This commission builded better than it knew. Its charter contained germinating notions. A few hundred municipalities have already adopted the commission form and are finding relief from the federal form and rejoicing in the watchwords: economy, efficiency and government for the community.

The Galveston scheme has been modified in a variety of ways. But the central notion that a city, like a private corporation, should be managed by a few efficient men is the chief common measure of all charters granted for the government of cities by commission. These few men form the legislative, executive and administrative departments of the city. The word "Commissioners" is immaterial. Its usage was established by the use the Deepwater Committee made of it in its report to the governor of Texas asking for a new charter. A good descriptive phrase would be *Municipal Managers,* for that is precisely what they are. Under stress of circumstances in which Galveston found itself, the five managers were appointed by the gov-

ernor of the state, later they were elected at large by the voters of the city.

In Houston, Texas, the commission form was modified by the retention of the veto power of the mayor and by providing for a referendum on franchises and bond issues.

The most decided improvements in the commission plan were made by the city of Des Moines, Iowa. After much study and agitation a bill was framed by interested citizens and presented to the legislature of the state. This was passed and became a general law of Iowa, March 29, 1907. It provided that any city of twenty-five thousand population could organize under the commission plan or, as it became known afterward, the Des Moines plan. At a later date the law was modified so as to allow cities with only seven thousand inhabitants to so organize. To bring this about, a petition must be signed by electors equal to twenty-five per cent of the vote cast for all candidates for mayor at the last general city election. A mayor and four commissioners are then elected. Elections thereafter take place biennially.

Previous to the general election a non-partizan primary is held. A candidate for the mayoralty or commissionership must file a statement of his candidacy ten days prior to the primary election, and the statement must be accompanied by the signatures of twenty-five

electors requesting such a candidacy. Provision is made for publishing all the names of the candidates. The ballot is non-partizan. The names of the candidates for mayor appear on the ballot in alphabetical order and occupy the first place; after these come the names of all the commissioners in the same order. The two names "Receiving the highest number of votes for mayor shall be the candidates, and the only candidates whose names shall be placed upon the ballot for mayor at the next succeeding general municipal election, and the eight candidates receiving the highest number of votes for councilman, or all such candidates if less than eight, shall be the candidates and the only candidates whose names shall be placed upon the ballot for councilman at such municipal election." [1]

Services performed in the interest of candidates for money or other valuable things are forbidden, and heavy fines are imposed for the giving or taking a bribe, giving false information and for fraudulent voting.

Every commission city is therefore governed by a mayor and four commissioners.[2] Each

[1] See "An act to provide for the government of certain cities and the adoption thereof by special election." Additional to Title V (five) of the code, passed by the Thirty-second General Assembly of Iowa and adopted at a special election held June 20, 1907.

[2] Called councilman in the charter.

has a right to vote on all questions coming before the council. Three members constitute a quorum. Three affirmative votes are necessary to pass any measure unless a greater vote is specially provided for. The mayor presides at all meetings of the council, supervises all departments, but has no veto power. The vice-president is superintendent of the department of accounts. Each measure passed must receive the signature of the mayor or those of two councilmen.

The council exercises all functions of ownership, all executive, judicial and administrative power for the city. There are five departments:

I. Public affairs—under the supervision of the mayor.
II. Accounts and finance—under the supervision of the vice-president.
III. Public safety.
IV. Streets and public improvements.
V. Parks and public property.

} Each of these under the supervision of a councilman.

The mayor's department is determined by the charter. A councilman is assigned to each of the other four departments by a vote of the council. All minor offices are filled by the council. Salaries are on the following scale:

Population	Compensation for mayor	Compensation for councilman
25,000 to 40,000	$2,500.00	$1,800.00
40,000 to 60,000	$3,000.00	$2,500.00
Over 60,000	$3,500.00	$3,000.00

The following special provision is made for franchises: "No franchise or right to occupy or use the streets, highways, bridges or public places in any city shall be granted, renewed or extended except by ordinance, and every franchise or grant for interurban or street railways, gas or water works, electric light or power plants, heating plants, telegraph or telephone systems, or other public service utilities within said city, must be authorized or approved by a majority of the electors voting thereon at a general or a special election, as provided in section 776 of the Code."

The council appoints three civil service commissioners, each to hold office for six years. Their terms of office so to expire that one is appointed biennially. All appointees of the council are examined by these civil service officers, except commissioners appointed by the council for special service and unskilled labor.

All appointments are made with reference to fitness and efficiency and not because of political affiliations. Great care is exerted to prevent city officials from using their position for personal gain at the expense of the city. None except firemen and policemen can accept free transportation. All forms of influence or compulsion brought to bear on employees is forbidden.[1]

[1] See John J. Hamilton's "Government by Commission; or, The Dethronement of a City Boss."

The council prints each month an itemized statement of all receipts and expenses of the city and a summary of the proceedings of the council for the preceding month.

Provision is made for the recall, the removal of an elective officer. A petition demanding such a removal, and stating the reasons must be signed by electors equal to twenty-five per cent of the total vote cast for all candidates for the office of mayor at the last election. When this is done and the names are found to be those of *bona fide* electors an election may be held. The name of the person or persons whom the petitioners wish to have fill the offices appear on the ballot together with the name of the person sought to be removed. This latter name must appear on the ballot even when the consent of the official himself has not been obtained.

The electors may initiate an ordinance by a petition signed by electors equal to twenty-five per cent of all votes cast for all the candidates for mayor at the last election. After the petition has been properly filed the council may (a) Pass the ordinance within twenty days after the certification by the clerk of the legality of the petition or (b) the council may call a special election unless a general election is fixed within ninety days after the certification, when, of course, it could be placed before the electors. Any ordinance which is enacted by

the vote of the electorate can only be repealed in the same manner. Special elections are limited to one in six months.

No ordinance passed by the council shall go into effect until the expiration of ten days. If during this period a petition be filed by the twenty-five per cent generally required, protesting against putting the ordinance into effect, it shall not go into effect. The council may then reconsider the ordinance. If it is repealed, that ends the matter; but if it is not entirely repealed, a special election may be called to consider it.

After a city has been governed by the commission plan for more than six years, it may reconsider its form of government. This is done by filing a petition with the usual twenty-five per cent of signatures, after which it can be submitted to the electorate.

The Des Moines plan has the main features of most commission plans which have been since adopted. The Galveston plan had left primaries in the hands of the politicians and had failed to provide for the initiative, referendum and recall. It will be readily seen that a fundamental notion in the commission plan is the separation of municipal government from the control of state and national politics. The city should be managed like a private corporation, or a well-regulated household. It needs all the

skill, business acumen and experience demanded by a private corporation. The managers are placed in power by the citizens to perform for them the service of managing the city, and they have a right to demand that the service be well rendered. So long as cities are governed on party lines, party preference and prejudice, the division of spoils among the victors and their henchmen, the utilization of public office for private gains, consequent extravagant and inefficient methods will, of course, obtain. The commission form, concentrating responsibility in a few men, making each commissioner responsible for a definite department, enabling electors through the checks of the initiative, referendum and recall to scrutinize carefully the work of the council, the ordinances and franchises and to remove inefficient or corrupt administrators, is certainly a way out of the disgraceful manner in which our municipalities have been managed. What it did for Galveston it is already doing for hundreds of municipalities. It is not a theoretical speculation, but a very practical method of common sense and efficient management.

It is rather beside the mark to say the commission form is undemocratic. This question was raised and carried to the supreme court of Iowa, which decided in the case of Eckerson vs. the City of Des Moines that it was a true form

of representative government. It abolishes the ward system. The mayor and commissioners are elected at large. This does away with sectional feeling and prevents one part of the city from claiming an undue share of consideration. Naturally accurate bookkeeping, civil service and other efficient methods are introduced.

Publicity also is a splendid corrective. The citizen knows what is being done and how the public money is expended. This intensifies his interest in, and increases his pride for, his community. It has a tendency to check graft and inefficiency. The managers of any city under any plan will bear watching. For no scheme in itself is a panacea. Good men may serve a city well under a bad plan; bad men will serve a city ill under any plan.

The referendum on franchises is one of the best provisions in the commission plan. Millions of dollars in the form of valuable franchises have been actually stolen from the cities of the United States.

The commission form of government, take it by and large, is the best method in view at present. It is certainly an improvement on the federal plan. It will need for its permanent establishment and value, however, the education of municipal managers. The mayor and commissioners should be trained men in municipal affairs. But to procure the services of such

trained men by popular election, with an uncertain tenure of office, is a difficult task. It may be that the easier way out would be to adopt the German system of training mayors and electing them for life, provided an adequate salary and pension could be offered. Or it may be that a trained band of civil service men can do the work of the municipality under elective officers. They could continue in the service through successive administrations as they do at present in Paris. At any rate the amount of legal and legislative equipment and administrative ability needed in the management of the modern municipality cannot be furnished except through the trained man. When this can be brought about, there is no reason why the commission form should not prove to be a permanently efficient instrument of government for cities.

To sum up: The advantages claimed for the commission form are that it gives a municipality the benefit of being governed like a private corporation under personal supervision for the good of all citizens; that the city will get labor and material at market prices and will get what it pays for; that credit can be given to the proper commissioners for success; that failure for responsibility rests with the head of the department; that the electorate selects its own officials without direction by politicians; that the "boss"

grafter and political machine are eliminated; that it admits of rapid execution, efficiency and economy in all administrative affairs and is well adapted to a community of the twentieth century; and that it abolishes a mass of useless offices, sinecures and political rewards, and substitutes for them, method, organization, work and honesty.

CHAPTER X

MUNICIPAL HOME RULE

A CITY should be autonomous to the highest degree consistent with the sovereignty, unity and well-being of the state. That is the ideal involved in the term "municipal home rule." Nearly all close observers of the problems of municipal government are agreed that, in purely local matters, a city should have the undisputed right of control, but wide differences of opinion are expressed as to just what constitutes the local affairs of a city. Such differences of opinion have proved stumbling-blocks in the way of effective legislation dealing with this subject. A clearer conception of the place of the city in the state and nation is needed.

In our country sovereignty rests in the people themselves. In national affairs such sovereignty is vested in all the people and is exercised by the election of a president and congress with power under the Constitution to perform the necessary functions of national government. In the separate states sovereignty in state affairs rests with the people residing in the state and is exercised

by them when they elect executives, legislators and judges to manage the affairs of the state. The relation of the state to the nation has been the subject of much controversy ever since the federal Constitution was written and was one of the points of dispute that led to the Civil War. Even now, questions like that of legislation with respect to aliens in California bring the state and nation more or less into conflict. It is generally conceded that the United States is a nation, not a confederation, and that the power of deciding what are state, and what are national functions resides in the Supreme Court of the United States. The relation of a city to the state in which it is located is not so well defined as the relation of the state to the nation. It is recognized that a city has matters to deal with that concern no one outside the city. It is just as clear that in other matters the functions of a city constitute a vital part of the functions of the state. Sovereignty in a city with respect to all local matters inherently resides in the people living in the city. The fundamental principle of a republican form of government is violated by the assertion that the state legislature is supreme in the purely local affairs of a city. We are aware that state legislatures have frequently assumed complete sovereignty over all the affairs of cities. In so far as they have meddled with local mat-

ters, however, they have departed from the true democratic basis of government.

The inherent right of local self-government is based on the following considerations:

1. The people residing in a city are the only ones who have an intimate knowledge of local conditions. They know better than any legislature can possibly know what changes and improvements are needed in the city and how these changes may best be brought about. Every city community has its peculiar problems. The customs, habits and ideals of the people of one city may be unlike those of any other city. Legislation that is pleasing to one may be offensive to another. With knowledge of conditions should go power to change them.

2. The effect or operation of any law or ordinance in relation to local affairs is felt directly by the people of the city, and little or not at all by people residing elsewhere in the state; e.g. it is a matter of vital importance to a municipality that its streets should be properly laid out and well-paved, but it is a matter of little or no concern to citizens living in rural districts remote from such city.

3. The people of a city must pay all local expenses. No state legislature, even though willing to interfere in the local matters of cities, has been rash enough to provide for a general state tax to pay for local improvements. A prop-

osition for such a tax would naturally be met with ridicule. The levying of such a tax, however, would involve no greater injustice than the interference of state legislatures in purely local city affairs.

The principle here laid down is not in accord with the generally accepted theory of the relation of the state to the city, but it is not without support in legal decisions and in the opinions of able students of constitutional law. Amasa M. Eaton, in a learned article on the "origin of municipal incorporation in England and in the United States," published in the Proceedings of the Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting of the American Bar Association, discussed the two opposite views concerning the relation of the city to the state. In an argument based on a careful study of the history of municipal incorporation he showed that towns and cities are endowed with limited sovereign power in the sense that, while subject to general laws passed by the state legislature and to the right of the legislature to mold and direct their powers, they have a constitutional right, expressed or implied, to manage their own local affairs free from the interference or control of the legislature. The same view was held by Judge Cooley of the supreme court of Michigan in an opinion (People vs. Detroit, 28 Mich., 228), in which he declared unconstitutional an act of the legis-

lature of that state compelling the people of Detroit to establish a public park. Judge Cooley said:

"Whoever insists upon the right of the state to interfere and control by compulsory legislation the action of the local constituency in matters exclusively of local concern should be prepared to defend a like interference in the action of private corporations and of natural persons. . . . The one law would rest upon the same fallacy as the other, and the reasons for opposing and contesting it would be the same in each case. And while it may be entirely possible that in any particular instance the interference would be beneficial to the person or community whose rights are invaded, it is not to be overlooked that any interference to compel a person to submit to something for his good may be made use of as a precedent to compel him at some future time to extortion and plunder . . . the motive for outside interference will very likely be something besides a desire to do good to a community in which the parties interfering have no personal interest, unless of a sentimental nature, and whose burdens they are not to share or enjoyments participate in. All such matters are left to those whose interests will prompt them to act with prudence, and who, because of their interest, and because they relate to matters that must come under their own view and observation

they are presumptively best qualified to decide upon."

In an earlier case the same court held that an act of the state legislature appointing a permanent board of water commissioners for Detroit was unconstitutional on account of its conflict with the principle of local self-government.

While the other view that the state is absolutely supreme over the city in local as well as general affairs undoubtedly has the greater weight of authority for its support, it is in conflict with the present trend of public opinion and is likely to be superseded by the more democratic conception.

In order to obtain freedom from legislative interference which in many cases has proved so disastrous to the well-being of cities, recourse has been had to constitutional conventions, and constitutional provisions have been obtained limiting the power of state legislatures to regulate the affairs of cities. Such provisions fall into two classes: the one giving power to cities to draft their own charters, the other requiring legislatures to provide for the government of cities by general laws.

Missouri was the first city in the Union to incorporate in its constitution provisions permitting cities to draft their own charters. The Missouri constitution of 1876 provided that any city

in the state of more than 100,000 population may frame a charter for its own government; that an election may be called by the municipal assembly for the election of thirteen freeholders to frame a charter, the draft framed by them to be submitted to the qualified voters of the city; that such charter shall provide, among other things, for a chief executive and two houses of legislation (St. Louis may have one house), one of which shall be elected at large; that such charters shall always be in harmony with and subject to the constitution and laws of the state.

St. Louis and Kansas City have drafted their own charters in accordance with these provisions. While the result in these two cities has been to give them a certain freedom from legislative interference, the charters adopted have been subject to much criticism. The Civic League of St. Louis, an influential organization, has recently issued a report discussing home rule provisions for that city. The conclusions of the committee who drafted the report indicate clearly the difficulties for which a remedy is sought: The committee recommends that the police, excise and election officials should under no circumstances be elected, but appointed; that the police and election machinery should not be placed under the same appointing power; that wherever the appointing power is given to the mayor of St. Louis, in departments

in which the state has a large interest, the power of removal should be lodged in the governor as well as the mayor; that, while the excise commissioner might well be appointed by the mayor in the same manner as the police commissioner, he should certainly be removable by the governor for the same reasons which prevail in the case of the police commissioner; and that the election commissioners should be appointed by the governor as at present. These conclusions deal with governmental functions in which both state and city are vitally interested, and in which a conflict of authority is most likely to be found.

The second state of the union to adopt a constitutional provision permitting cities to draft their own charters was California. This state in 1879 incorporated in its constitution the following provisions:

Any city containing 25,000 inhabitants may frame a charter for its own government consistent with the constitution and general laws of the state.

Fifteen freeholders are to be elected for this purpose.

The charter so framed must receive the approval of a majority of the qualified city electors voting thereon.

The charter must then be submitted to the legislature and be approved before it becomes the organic law of the city. The legislature

may approve or reject, but not alter the proposed charter.

The first provision was modified in 1886 to include cities of 10,000 population, and in 1889 to include cities of more than 8,500 population. An amendment to the state constitution in 1896 provided that city charters, "except in municipal affairs," should be subject to and controlled by general laws. The charters drafted by the cities of California have thus far been accepted by the legislature. The amendment of 1896 was passed to prevent interference by the state legislature in the affairs of the city. The construction of this amendment by the courts has given rise to much discussion. The prevailing opinion of the highest court of the state held that the term "municipal affairs" referred to the matters covered by the city charter. Other matters affecting the city might be regulated by general law. The decisions defining what are, and what are not, municipal affairs are of more than local interest. The following have been held by the state courts of California to be municipal affairs:

The regulation of the mode and manner of passing city ordinances.

Provision for direct legislation by the people through the initiative.

The opening, widening and vacating of streets.

Maintenance in the streets of telegraph, telephone poles and wires.

Issuance of bonds for the acquisition and improvement of parks and boulevards, and permanent municipal buildings and improvements.

The levying and collecting of license taxes for purposes of revenue.

The regulation of municipal elections.

Provisions for the removal of municipal officers, such as the chief of police.

The establishment of a municipal pension system.

The regulation of the pay of firemen and policemen.

The supplying of water to outside territory, when incidental to making provision for the city's own supply.

The establishment of a city board of health, superseding a board of health provided for by the political code.

Supervision and control of the sanitary condition of the city.

The following have been held by the same court to be general or state affairs and not "municipal affairs":

Annexation of territory.

Establishment of courts and control of crimes.

The regulation of the public school system.

"The school system," says Justice Shaw, "is a matter of general concern and not a municipal

affair." A modification of this decision is found in another case in which it was held that the "education of the youth is properly included within the functions of a municipal government. As school-houses are essentially aids in the promotion of education, their regulation is but incidental to the maintenance of the schools and falls as completely within the functions of a municipal government as does the erection of a hospital for its indigent poor, or buildings for its fire engines; and the school-houses when so erected are as fully municipal buildings as are its engine-houses and hospital buildings."

The state of Washington in 1889 adopted constitutional provisions relating to city charters as follows:

Any city of over 20,000 population may frame a charter consistent with the constitution of the state.

The city council may cause an election to be held for the choice of fifteen freeholders to frame a charter.

The proposed charter must be approved by a majority of the qualified voters of the city.

Minnesota, in 1896, adopted provisions similar to those of Missouri except that any city or village without regard to the number of inhabitants might frame its own charter. It was provided that the district court should appoint fif-

teen freeholders for the purpose of drafting the charter of a municipality.

Colorado in 1902 adopted the following constitutional provisions:

Denver and the cities of the first and second class are empowered to frame their own charters.

A special election may be called by the city council to elect twenty-one taxpayers, to constitute a charter convention, and to draft a charter.

The charter prepared by the convention must receive a majority vote of the citizens before being adopted.

If the charter fails of adoption another charter convention shall be elected. Five per cent of the qualified voters of a city can, by petition, compel the council to call an election for choosing a charter convention.

In 1906, Oregon amended its constitution by adopting the following home-rule provisions:

"The legislative assembly shall not enact, amend, or repeal any charter or act of incorporation for any municipality, city or town. The legal voters of every city and town are hereby granted powers to enact and amend their municipal charter, subject to the constitution and criminal laws of the state of Oregon."

In 1907, Oklahoma adopted constitutional

home-rule provisions similar to those of Colorado. They were:

Any city of more than 2,000 population may frame its own charter.

Two freeholders elected from each ward constitute the board of freeholders. An election may be called by the city council or it may be called by the mayor upon a twenty-five per cent petition submitted to him.

A majority vote is required for ratification.

In 1908, Michigan adopted a new constitution containing the following provisions:

The legislature shall provide by general law for the incorporation of cities and villages.

Under these general laws the electors of each city and village shall have the power and authority to frame, adopt and amend its charter and to pass laws and ordinances relating to its municipal concerns, subject to the constitution and general laws of the state.

In 1912, a home-rule amendment to the constitution was adopted by the people of Ohio, and in 1913 several of the cities of the state held charter conventions.

In many states there are constitutional provisions forbidding the legislature to pass any special act creating or altering a municipal corporation, and directing that general laws be passed for the incorporation of municipalities. These provisions have been evaded by the passage of

laws, general in form, but applying only to a particular city; the legislature of Ohio, for example, in 1868, passed a general law providing "that the city council of any city of the first class having a population exceeding 150,000 shall have the power to issue the bonds of such city in any sum not exceeding $150,000, to be used for the purpose of completing the Eggleston Avenue sewer." The provision, of course, applied to Cincinnati only.

In the constitution of the State of New York adopted in 1894, the legislature is not forbidden to pass special laws relating to cities, but any act that does not apply to all cities in a class must be submitted to the common council and mayor of each city affected for approval or disapproval. In case the common council or mayor of a city disapproves the act, it must be repassed by the legislature before becoming a law, but even with these restrictions the New York state legislature has been unusually active in passing legislation affecting cities. According to a summary prepared by Mr. J. Hampton Dougherty and published in his recent pamphlet on "The Struggle for Municipal Freedom," the state legislature between 1897 and 1901 passed fifty-eight separate acts amending the charter of Greater New York of 1897. Between the revision of 1901 and the fall of 1907, the legislature amended 267 sections of the charter of 1901

and added forty-six new sections. Between 1897 and 1907 it passed 650 separate and special acts, each directly affecting the property, government or rights of the city of New York. In some single years as high as 600 separate bills relating to the city government of New York have been submitted to the state legislature. The evils resulting from such constant appeals to the legislature for special laws are apparent.

In order to do away with this mass of special legislation, a home-rule bill was passed by the legislature of 1913 which sets forth in detail the powers and functions of the cities of the state. As this measure was the result of a most careful consideration of the sphere of city government, by the Municipal Government Association of the state, we quote in full the powers enumerated by it as rightfully belonging to the city:

General Grant of Powers.—Every city is granted power to regulate, manage and control its property and local affairs, and is granted all the rights, privileges and jurisdiction necessary and proper for carrying such power into execution. No enumeration of powers in this or any other law shall operate to restrict the meaning of this general grant of power, or to exclude other powers comprehended within this general grant.

Grant of Specific Powers.—Subject to the constitution and general laws of this state, every city is empowered:

1. To contract and be contracted with and to institute, maintain and defend any action or proceeding in any court.

2. To take, purchase, hold and lease real and personal

property within and without the limits of the city, and acquire by condemnation real and personal property within the limits of the city, for any public or municipal purpose, and to sell and convey the same, but the rights of a city in and to its water-front, ferries, bridges, wharf property, land under water, public landings, wharves, docks, streets, avenues, parks, and all other public places, are hereby declared to be inalienable, except in the cases provided for by subdivision seven of this section.

3. To take by gift, grant, bequest or devise and to hold and administer real and personal property within and without the limits of the city, absolutely or in trust for any public or municipal purpose, upon such terms and conditions as may be prescribed by the grantor or donor and accepted by the city.

4. To levy and collect taxes on real and personal property for any public or municipal purpose.

5. To become indebted for any public or municipal purpose and to issue therefor the obligations of the city, to determine upon the form and the terms and conditions thereof, and to pledge the faith and credit of the city for payment of principal and interest thereof, or to make the same payable out of or a charge or lien upon specific property or revenues; to pay or comprise claims equitably payable by the city, though not constituting obligations legally binding on it, but it shall have no power to waive the defense of the statute of limitations or to grant extra compensation to any public officer, servant or contractor.

6. To establish and maintain sinking funds for the liquidation of principal and interest of any indebtedness, and to provide for the refunding of any indebtedness other than certificates of indebtedness or revenue bonds issued in anticipation of the collection of taxes for amounts actually contained or to be contained in the taxes for the year when such certificates or revenue bonds are issued or in the taxes for the year next succeeding, and payable out of such taxes.

7. To lay out, establish, construct, maintain, operate, alter and discontinue streets, sewers and drainage systems,

water-supply systems, and lighting systems, for lighting streets, public buildings and public places, and to lay out, establish, construct, maintain and operate markets, parks, playgrounds and public places, and upon the discontinuance thereof to sell and convey the same.

8. To control and administer the water-front and waterways of the city and to establish, maintain, operate and regulate docks, piers, wharves, warehouses and all adjuncts and facilities for navigation and commerce and for the utilization of the water-front and waterways and adjacent property.

9. To establish, construct and maintain, operate, alter and discontinue bridges, tunnels and ferries, and approaches thereto.

10. To grant franchises or rights to use the streets, waters, water-front, public ways and public places of the city.

11. To construct and maintain public buildings, public works and public improvements, including local improvements, and assess and levy upon the property benefited thereby the cost thereof, in whole or in part.

12. To prevent and extinguish fires and to protect the inhabitants of the city and property within the city from loss or damage by fire or other casualty.

13. To maintain order, enforce the laws, protect property and preserve and care for the safety, health, comfort and general welfare of the inhabitants of the city and visitors thereto; and for any of said purposes to regulate and license occupations and businesses.

14. To create, maintain and administer a system or systems for the enumeration, identification and registration, or either, of the inhabitants of the city and visitors thereto, or such classes thereof as may be deemed advisable.

15. To establish, maintain, manage and administer hospitals, sanitaria, dispensaries, public baths, almshouses, workhouses, reformatories, jails and other charitable and correctional institutions; to relieve, instruct and care for children and poor, sick, infirm, defective, insane or in-

ebriate persons; to provide for the burial of indigent persons; to contribute to and supervise charitable, eleemosynary, correctional or reformatory institutions wholly or partly under private control.

16. To establish and maintain such institutions and instrumentalities for the instruction, enlightenment, improvement, entertainment, recreation and welfare of its inhabitants as it may deem appropriate or necessary for the public interest or advantage.

17. To determine and regulate the number, mode of selection, terms of employment, qualifications, powers and duties and compensation of all employees of the city and the relations of all officers and employees of the city to each other, to the city and to the inhabitants.

18. To create a municipal civil service; to make rules for the classification of the offices and employments in the city's service, for appointments, promotions and examinations, and for the registration and selection of laborers.

19. To regulate the manner of transacting the city's business and affairs and the reporting of and accounting for all transactions of or concerning the city.

20. To provide methods and provide, manage and administer funds for pensions and annuities for and retirement of city officers and employees.

21. To investigate and inquire into all matters of concern to the city or its inhabitants, and to require and enforce by subpœna the attendance of witnesses at such investigations.

22. To regulate by ordinance any matter within the powers of the city, and to provide for the enforcement of ordinances by legal proceedings, to compel compliance therewith, and by penalties, forfeitures and imprisonment to punish violations thereof.

23. To exercise all powers necessary and proper for carrying into execution the powers granted to the city.

Public or Municipal Purpose and General Welfare Defined.—The terms "public or municipal purpose," and "general welfare," as used in this article, shall each include the

promotion of education, art, beauty, charity, amusement, recreation, health, safety, comfort and convenience, and all of the purposes enumerated in the last preceding section.

This Grant in Addition to Existing Powers.—The powers granted by this article shall be in addition to and not in substitution for, all the powers, rights, privileges and functions existing in any city pursuant to any other provision of law. . . .

The foregoing grant of municipal rights and powers is probably more comprehensive than any previously made by an American state. While the city, by the terms of the law, is limited by the general laws of the state, it is absolved from the necessity of seeking by special law the right to act within such limitations. The ability of the city to act wisely on important matters on its own initiative and without the special permission of the state legislature is recognized to an extent hitherto unknown in the legislation of the state.

In the matter of the ownership and management of public utilities, the law is conservative. It is probable that any measure giving cities of the state the right to operate all of their public utilities would have been defeated. The vested interests are not ready to relinquish their hold on the public services of the cities, and the cities are politically too weak to force the issue.

Another serious omission in the law is the failure to grant the city the same rights with

respect to its officers as are granted with respect to employees.

From the nature of its position as a part of the state and nation, a city cannot have absolute freedom to govern itself. The only entirely free cities in the history of the world have been those, like the former city states of Italy and Germany, that owed allegiance to no other power. The modern city must not only perform the functions peculiar to its own well-being, but take its part in the affairs of a state. This involves the payment of state taxes, the enforcement of state laws, the maintenance of a system of education in harmony with the state system, the establishment and enforcement of health regulations subject to the direction of the state, and the maintenance of courts forming a coherent part of the judicial system of the state. There is, however, little need to emphasize the superiority of the state as the governing power, for the tendency in American legislation until recently has always been to minimize the inherent rights of the city.

The presence of a large city in a state, such as Greater New York in New York state, Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, Chicago in Illinois, leads to serious complications. The problems of these large cities are so unlike the problems of smaller cities and rural districts that it

becomes extremely difficult to legislate for all by general law. In New York state the dominance of the Democratic party in the metropolis and of the Republican party in the rest of the state has further complicated matters. Under circumstances such as these it becomes an open question whether the formation of a separate city state would not be preferable to continuing the present relations.

The position of a great city in a state differs in some important respects from that of smaller cities. The great city is abundantly supplied with energy, intelligence and wealth. It has no need of expert state assistance in order properly to conduct its affairs. The smaller cities, on the other hand, often need such supervision and assistance. The state having a metropolis in its territory, therefore, may wisely absolve such city from the supervision exercised in matters of education, health and finance over smaller cities of the state.

The American method of exercising control over cities by means of legislatures and courts is generally considered less satisfactory than the British method of administrative control. The English city, when it wishes to undertake any enterprise not covered by its charter, does not apply to Parliament but to the Local Government Board. This body investigates the matter and sanctions or disapproves the action pro-

posed. The Local Government Board, being a permanent body and having in its employ experts in the various lines of municipal activity, is able to guide with a high degree of wisdom the important undertakings of towns and cities. In France and Germany also the state exercises its control over cities through administrative officers. The system in these countries is more complicated than in England, but is based on the same general principles. As elsewhere pointed out, English and continental cities control and operate their public utilities to a much greater degree than American cities. Their success in these matters has been due in no small measure to their freedom from legislative interference and to the assistance given by the administrative officers of the state.

The growing importance of the city as a factor in American life will soon be recognized in constitutions guaranteeing to our cities as large a measure of freedom as the cities of England and Germany now enjoy.

CHAPTER XI

THE SELECTION OF CITY OFFICERS AND EMPLOYEES

THE problem of choosing officials and employees to carry on the public business of a city is one that has engrossed the attention of municipal reformers for many years. It is generally agreed that public officials should be honest, courteous, industrious, and well trained for the work they are to perform; but there are diverse opinions in regard to the best method of choosing such officials. Until recently, the most common method was to elect all the principal officers of a city at the general election by vote of the people. The subordinate officers were appointed by the elected ones for political or personal reasons. This system, as a rule, secured officers and employees that were fairly honest, but rarely well trained for the work they were called on to perform. From the standpoint of managers of political parties the system was well-nigh perfect. Putting, as it did, all the municipal offices at the disposal of the successful party, it was a great aid to party solidarity.

SELECTION OF CITY OFFICERS

As the city election was commonly held at the same time as the state and national elections, the interest of the people was centered on the larger issues, and the city was made to furnish places for office-seekers who had no claim on public favor, and who would not have been elected if their election had been the only question before the people. A group of spoilsmen having thus secured the elective positions, in turn proceeded to fill the subordinate places with party workers of their own sort. Under such conditions the emoluments of the offices became the rewards for political activity, and the aim of the office-holders was to increase salaries and to lessen work. The effect of this system on the management of public affairs in many cities is only too well known.

In order to overcome the evils of the spoils system and to secure efficiency in public office, the merit system has been evolved. The aim of this system is to fill places in the civil service, whether under city, state or national government, with the most capable men desiring employment. It is hoped to make the civil service a profession and thus to insure expert service in all places filled by this system. The fitness of a person for a public office is determined, not by the service he has rendered his party, not by his friendship for the appointing officer, or a political boss, but by his character, scholarship,

and previous training for the work in question. Such merit and fitness are determined by competitive examinations, which are supposed to test fairly the ability of the candidates to perform the work. The examinations usually consist of three parts: a preliminary statement of personal qualifications, a written test, and a statement of education and experience. The last two elements are rated competitively, and the candidates passing the examination above a fixed minimum standard, usually seventy-five per cent, are placed in the order of their standing on an eligible list. From such a list the appointing officer selects a person for the position. Sometimes the rules permit the appointing officer to select any person on the eligible list; sometimes the person selected must be one of the three highest on the list, and sometimes the appointing officer is obliged to take the person standing highest.

The merit system was introduced in the federal service of the United States in 1884, and in the New York State service in the same year. Soon after the New York State Civil Service Commission was organized, municipal civil service commissions were appointed in all of the larger cities of the state, and from time to time the service has been extended to the smaller municipalities. Massachusetts, Wisconsin, and some other states and many separate municipali-

ties have also introduced the system to a considerable extent.

As nearly thirty years have elapsed since the beginning of the system in the federal service, a fair criticism of results may now be made. There can be little doubt that the subordinate service of the federal departments has been greatly improved by the application of the merit system. It is probable also that the clerical service in the New York State departments has become more efficient under this system, and a like comment would justly apply to the municipal civil service of New York City and Boston. When we come to the smaller municipalities, the same favorable conclusions cannot be drawn. It would not be far from the truth to say that the merit system, in the second and third class cities of New York State, at least, is in the main a farce and fraud. The conduct of the examinations in these cities is usually placed in the hands of an incompetent clerk; examinations are not carefully prepared and often are insufficient tests of the candidate's ability to hold a position. The rating, as a rule, is performed by poorly paid and incompetent help, and in many cases the examination is simply a farcical confirmation of appointments already agreed upon. The breakdown of the merit system in the second and third class cities is not due to any inherent fault in the system, but to the fact that the sys-

tem cannot be made to work under conditions that obtain in these cities. As already indicated, the system presupposes efficient tests, fair competition, and a willingness on the part of the appointing officers to avail themselves of the advantages of the system; where these are lacking, the system naturally collapses.

In smaller cities, under the federal plan of government, boss rule and the patronage system are everywhere dominant. The civil service law is looked upon as a hindrance rather than a help, and consequently every effort is made to circumvent the law without actually violating it. The greater number of desirable places are classified as "exempt," and given directly to party workers. The subordinate places, which are not so eagerly sought, are placed in the competitive class, and the favored candidates are instructed to take the examination. While there may be no collusion between examiners and favored candidates, the matter is usually fixed so that the persons previously agreed upon may receive the appointment. It is safe to say that, in party-governed cities, where the machine is well organized, no one can be appointed to a competitive place without the sanction of the party leader. If it should happen that an eligible list containing only the names of candidates belonging to the minority party, or none of the favored class, should be established, it is probable that

no appointment would be made from the list and the work of the position would be performed by some one under another title.

An investigation of the examinations held by the municipal civil service commission of a city of about 75,000 inhabitants in New York State, revealed the fact that while examinations were being prepared and held and eligible lists written up, the papers submitted by the candidates had nothing to do with their position or standing on the eligible list. The examiner in charge of the matter, evidently carrying out the orders of some one in authority, was assigning arbitrary ratings to the candidates and arranging them on the eligible lists in the order best suited to the purposes of the dominant political party or the appointing officer.

Such supreme contempt of the civil service law is probably exceptional, but it is safe to assert that the operations of the merit system in the smaller cities where boss-rule prevails neither limits the spoilsmen nor secures the appointment of efficient public servants.

At this time, when the tendency is to reduce the number of elective officers in both city and state, it is of the highest importance that some other more efficient system of appointment be evolved. The advocates of the short ballot take it for granted that the merit system will be applied in selecting subordinate officers, provided

only the chief officers are elected. The assumption has little basis in fact. It is rightfully urged that the long ballot enables the boss to put incompetents in the minor offices; but it makes little difference whether he puts them in by means of an election or by means of appointment with or without civil service laws. A party appointee is even more subservient than an elected party official, as the former owes his place directly to the boss and can be removed at the will of the boss, while the latter always has the voters between him and the boss.

If we can eliminate the party system of government in all our municipalities, as some of the commission-governed cities have succeeded in doing; if we can build up a public sentiment that will tolerate nothing but the highest efficiency in the conduct of municipal affairs, the appointment problem will solve itself. In the meantime, it is well not to place too much reliance on the merit system as operated by spoilsmen, nor to hope for much relief from the short ballot in communities where the party system is dominant.

The methods now used in many enterprising cities in selecting school superintendents, principals and teachers point the way to a rational solution of the problem of choosing experts for every branch of the city government. When a superintendent of schools is to be chosen in any

up-to-date municipality, the fact becomes widely known, and the board of education receives applications from educators far and near. The school board desires and the public demands that the best available man be chosen. A careful inquiry of the various candidates is made, and the factors, such as age, health, education and experience, which form the basis of the candidate's probable success, are carefully considered. Neither politics, personal favoritism nor geography enters into the choice. The net result is the selection of a competent man. The German cities use practically the same method with equal success in selecting mayors and heads of departments. There is every reason to believe that the method could be extended to the selection of all the experts needed in the various departments of city government. If the heads of departments were selected on account of their expert knowledge and proved efficiency, there would be little difficulty about filling the less important positions, whether civil service examinations were held or not.

After all, the people of a municipality must decide whether they will have national party rule or not. If they decide to have such party rule, they must have the spoils system for the sake of party solidarity. There is no escape. The city that chooses the one must suffer the other. It may have the short ballot and direct

primaries and civil service commissions; the result will be the same. If the city is given over to the party, the party will use it to strengthen itself. On the other hand, if the people decide to adopt the commission form of government, the German plan or some other non-partizan system of city management, they will have every opportunity to man the several departments with the most capable men obtainable.

CHAPTER XII

THE CONTROL OF MUNICIPAL PUBLIC SERVICE CORPORATIONS

THE control of public service corporations is the most difficult problem in the management of American cities. The principal reason is the fact that the corporations are trying to control the cities. In some cities, citizens seem to have the upper hand, while in others the corporations elect city officials and control the affairs of the municipality to suit their pleasure. It seems almost incomprehensible that companies engaged in performing public service in a municipality could secure a majority of the electorate to vote in their favor, but in many American cities corporations and their allies are able to win election after election. This remarkable result is achieved in the face of bad service and unpopularity on the part of the corporations. Allied with the public service corporations seeking control, are the banks and financial interests in general, and in the employ of this combination of interests is one or both of the political bosses that apparently manage the city. The despoil-

ers of the lower class, those of the dive, the gambling-den, the dance-hall and the brothel, are brought in as silent partners in the general conspiracy to secure privilege, power and pelf at the expense of the public.

The strength of a secret combination of this kind on election day is remarkable. The corporations and the banks control their employees. The boss controls the office-holders and their families and makes them work for the party ticket. The partners of the "shady" world can be relied on to deliver the votes of all who enjoy the ill-gotten gains and of many who find pleasure in these resorts. The ticket of the "combine" always has an air of respectability and usually contains a duly accredited member of each of the principal religious denominations of the city. Care is also taken that the various sections of the city are fairly represented. The "combine" is also careful to make provision for newspaper support and to supply workers in the various wards with the necessary sinews of war. Before workers thus armed, the great body of floaters fall easy victims. At the polls, we find lined up by the skill of managers of the "interests," corporations, banks, breweries, gambling-houses, dives, and the great body of floaters, together with office-holders and regular supporters of one of the great parties. Practically all of these vote for the ticket of the

"combine," and the election is won. After the election, the organ of the "interests" proclaims in great head-lines that the people have spoken; that democracy has won another signal triumph; that the party is endorsed by the people and that the city is guaranteed another period of sanity and conservatism in the management of its affairs. All of which means that the public-service corporations and their allies have again gotten the privilege for a term of years of running things to their own satisfaction.

A few years ago corporations seeking franchises or monopolies in a city, would bribe, if it seemed necessary, city councilmen or other city officials. That was a crude and dangerous thing to do. Bribery has always had an unpleasant sound to Americans, and whenever it has been discovered, the consequences have been distasteful to the parties concerned. The modern method of working through a party leader and having him expend the money necessary to accomplish the desired end, is found to work much better. Money given for campaign funds is just as effectual in securing privilege as money used to bribe public officials, and no serious consequences are likely to follow. The people have been very slow in discovering the game that is being worked by a combination of big business and politics in the name of party loyalty and good city government. When the

iniquitous combination is discovered, the people usually find it too strongly entrenched to be dislodged.

The corruption of municipalities by public service corporations is far-reaching. It affects, not only the character of the public service, but every department of the city. Growth is checked, few public improvements are made, sanitary precautions are neglected and disease and crime increase. Corporations may accomplish their ends and grow rich by despoiling the city, but the people are gradually growing wiser. Those inside the unfortunate city may not be able to change matters or get out, but those on the outside are likely to hesitate before coming in. Whenever a choice is possible to the person taking up his residence in a city, or engaging in business in a city, he will naturally go to the town that offers the most attractive conditions of life. Few men, except through necessity, will choose to take up their abode in a corporation-ridden, boss-cursed community. As the progressive young people of such a town will seek their fortunes elsewhere, the failure of the town to grow is readily comprehended. One may almost pick out the cities owned by the public service corporations by a study of the census statement of comparative growth, birth-rates and death-rates. There may be other things besides corporate domination that will kill

a town, but there is no one thing that does it so effectually or so often.

It is not strange, therefore, that students of city life in America are giving heed to this great question of securing adequate public service at reasonable rates and of keeping the control of such utilities in the hands of the people.

Methods of Control

There are four principal methods of dealing with public service corporations in a city.

First, the policy of non-regulation. Under this system, the corporation is allowed to conduct its business in the same way as an ordinary firm. It uses the public streets without limitations, except that traffic on the street must not be unnecessarily interfered with. It fixes its own rates and extends or limits its service as it desires. The only redress the public has, in case the service rendered by the corporation is not satisfactory, is to refrain from using the service and to obtain a substitute; or the public may attempt to influence the corporation by arousing public opinion in favor of better service. Whether the corporation responds to the appeal of the public or not, usually depends on the probability of added profit in case the desired improvement or change is made. It is clear that the influence that the public is thus able to exert is uncertain and inadequate. If the public service

rendered by the corporation was of such a nature that it could be accepted or left alone at will, the income of the corporation would largely depend upon the satisfaction that the public derived from the service rendered. Most public service, however, is not of such a nature. The people of a city are compelled to use the water furnished by the water-supply system. They are practically obliged to use the gas furnished by the municipal gas-works. They must patronize the municipal street-railway, or suffer great inconvenience. They must use the local telephone service, or resort to primitive office methods. The company rendering services such as these has the public at its mercy. If not restricted by law or franchise regulations, it may charge for its service all the traffic will bear, and may render such service as it deems most practicable. The policy of non-regulation has been thoroughly tested in many American cities and has always been found wanting.

An unrestricted monopoly always works an injury to the public. The temptation to managers of public service corporations to enrich themselves at the public expense is too great to be resisted. Under modern conditions, the convenience, comfort and life of the people of a city depend to no small extent on the way the public work of the city is done. Bad water brings with it disease and death; bad gas may

injure the health of its consumers and cause great inconvenience; a poorly managed trolley system means discomfort, demoralization of business and unnecessary destruction of life and limb. As it is absolutely essential to the public welfare that its public service be rendered in an efficient manner, non-regulation must give way to a better method.

Second, the policy of competition. Free and open competition in all lines of business where such competition can be free and open, is found to promote improvement and insure good service to the people at reasonable prices. Rendering public service, however, is a business not subject to control by competition. In the main, such service is monopolistic. It is true, there may be a certain amount of competition between street railway companies, gas companies, electric companies, telephone companies and others, but it is evident, from the very nature of these various lines of business, that the number of companies using the streets of a city at the same time must be strictly limited. No city would be rash enough to permit two street-car companies to run competing tracks side by side on the same street, and few will permit the laying of competing gas-mains and water-mains in the same street, or allow the erection, along the same curb, of poles of different companies for the transmission of telephone or electric-light

wires. A few cities have been foolish enough to give franchises to several different companies to use its streets, but in almost every case the competition thus fostered has failed to bring better service or permanently to secure lower rates. It is generally agreed that, as a regulative agency, competition between public service corporations has been a failure. If there has resulted a cutting of rates in such competition, it has usually been followed by inadequate service, by the failure of the weakest corporations, or by the merging of the competing corporations into one. Even in private business lines, that are clearly subject to competition, we find a growing tendency toward trade agreements and general cooperation. In view of this marked tendency in the business of the present day, it becomes useless to consider longer the advisability of competition as a means of regulating public service corporations.

Third, control by means of franchise regulations and agreements. The proposition that a city should make a fair contract with a corporation wishing to use its streets for the purpose of rendering service to the general public, is a reasonable one. It would seem that an agreement might be entered into whereby the rights of the city and the consuming public would be fully safeguarded and the company would be able to conduct its business without great risk, and with

a fair degree of profit. Strange to say, this apparently simple transaction has seldom been successful. The greed of promoters, the selfishness of investors and the dishonesty of public officials, have too often combined to deprive the city of its natural rights. Long-term or perpetual franchises have been granted by city councils with apparently no realization of the gravity of the thing they were doing. Hundreds of American cities are now suffering from ill-advised franchises thus granted, and no adequate relief for the situation has yet been devised. The courts usually protect the property rights of corporations regardless of the inherent rights of the community.

The granting of franchises was the principal source of municipal corruption a quarter of a century ago. Everything in sight was gobbled up as the new era of electricity was ushered in. So thoroughly was the thing done and so well for the corporations, that comparatively little in the way of further letting of franchises or control of service was left to the city authorities. If city franchises were granted for short terms, or could be terminated if the service rendered was not satisfactory, there would be a possibility of effective regulation by means of the franchise, but unfortunately such is not the case. Probably not a half dozen cities in America have been able to secure adequate control of its pub-

lic-service corporations by means of franchise agreements.

Although modern ideas of the sacredness of the rights of the public in the streets of a city and in the control of public service are gaining a foothold in American cities, there is little opportunity to exercise these rights by franchise agreements. We may therefore conclude that, under present franchise conditions, we cannot look to such agreements to give relief from unsatisfactory public service.

Fourth, public regulation, or control by public service commissions. For many years, several states of the United States have had railroad commissions whose duties have been the regulation of railroads operating in the state. In the main, the work of these commissions has been neither efficient nor satisfactory to the public. In nearly every case, the commission has become an asset of the dominant political party, and as such has used its influence to keep the corporations in line for the party rather than to require them to give efficient service to the public. In recent years, however, several states have adopted a more comprehensive and better-devised plan for regulating public service corporations.

The State of New York, in the spring of 1907, by the passage of what is known as the "Public Service Commissions Law," adopted

the most elaborate scheme for controlling public utilities ever tried in America. The legislature, by this act, delegated its legislative power relative to the public service corporations named in the act, to two public service commissions, known respectively as the "Public Service Commission of the First District" and the "Public Service Commission of the Second District." The Public Service Commission for the First District was given jurisdiction over the territory comprised in the city of Greater New York, viz., New York, Kings, Queens, and Richmond counties. The Public Service Commission for the Second District was given jurisdiction over the remainder of the state. Each commission consists of five men appointed by the Governor with the consent of the Senate, and the term of each commissioner is five years. To the commissions were given the powers previously exercised by the state railroad commissioners, the commission on gas and electricity, and the state inspector of gas-meters, and to the Public Service Commission of the First District were given powers previously exercised by the rapid transit railroad commissioners of New York City. Other functions not previously exercised by any state or local authority were also conferred upon the last named commission. This commission, in describing its power in its report for 1907 (page 8) makes this statement:

"This commission has a dual character. Upon the one hand, it has most full and complete powers of regulation over all public service corporations; upon the other, it has the important task of planning and constructing, possibly also of equipping and operating, rapid transit lines, whether subway or elevated. So far as the transportation problem is concerned, therefore, the commission has two strings to its bow. It may build subways, as its predecessor, the rapid transit board, did, and it may order existing companies to increase their service, adjust fares and freight rates, improve their equipment, etc., a function which neither the rapid transit board nor the railroad commissioners had to the extent which this commission now possesses and has been exercising for the past six months."

From the foregoing statement it is seen that the Public Service Commission of the First District, though created by a state law and appointed by the governor, is in reality a city commission. Its jurisdiction is confined to greater New York and the problems with which it deals are all municipal problems.

The Public Service Commission of the Second District has a wider range of territory to deal with, and a greater variety of matters to supervise. Its power in no case, however, extends to the construction of public works. While most of the work of this commission relates to public utilities in the cities within its jurisdiction, it also has authority to regulate all of the steam surface railroads and electric lines in the territory embraced in its district. In the law of 1907, no authority was given the commissioners

over telegraph and telephone corporations. An amendment to the law passed in 1910 brought these corporations under full control of the commissioners and increased the power of the commission along other lines. The law of 1907 gave the commissions power to fix maximum rates for public services. The amended law gives the commission authority to establish a schedule of rates for the different kinds of service rendered by a corporation. For example, the original law limited the power of the commission in fixing the rates of gas and electric corporations to the determination of the maximum rate. Under the present law, the commission may establish a schedule of rates for different classes of service, and while the companies are permitted to reduce their rates below those fixed by the commission, they cannot raise them without the consent of the commission. The commissions are given power to investigate accidents, to order improvements which they may deem necessary in any division of the public service under their jurisdiction, to authorize or to refuse to authorize bond and stock issues of public service corporations, to supervise the expenditure of money raised by such issues, to require a uniform system of accounting of public service corporations of like character, and to prosecute through their counsel corporations refusing to comply with their orders. The commissions are directed to

require of the corporations under their jurisdiction, an annual report containing information respecting capital stock, bonded and other indebtedness, receipts and expenditures, names and salaries of officers, dividends paid and the character of the plants owned, including a detailed list of the assets.

It is evident that these public service commissions are endowed with extraordinary powers. Within the commissions are included the three divisions of government. In establishing rates and promulgating rules for the conduct of public service corporations, they perform a distinctly legislative office. In devising plans for new subways and in letting contracts for their construction, or in testing gas, and gas and electric meters, their work is administrative. In hearing complaints, making investigations, listening to arguments on disputed points, issuing orders and rendering decisions, their functions are judicial.

The weakest point in this method of control results from the provision of the constitution of the State of New York, which gives the corporations the right of appeal to the state courts and, consequently makes the commissions a court of first resort rather than a finality. This limitation placed on the commissions' work by the constitution is undoubtedly the greatest bar to its effectiveness. The commissions are better

constituted to decide justly on questions relating to public service corporations than any of the courts of the state, and, consequently, it is very doubtful if the right of appeal does not tend to defeat rather than to establish justice. The right of appeal to the courts also has the effect of making the commission unduly deliberative in reaching a decision. Fortunately, the act providing for the commission takes the probability of court appeal into account and provides that cases arising under the act shall have the preference over all other cases (except election cases) before the court, regardless of their position on the calendar.

These commissions have now been in operation about five years. They have organized elaborate departments and have employed many experts to assist them in their work. The state legislature has generously given each commission a large fund to use in carrying on its operations. Each commission has been deluged with work. Complaints relative to the kind of service rendered by public service corporations and the treatment of their patrons have come in large numbers to the commissions, and so far as possible the commissions have investigated the matters presented to them. Decisions of the commissions with respect to such complaints have, as a rule, been just and have met with the approval of the people. In nearly every case

where an appeal has been made to the courts, the decision of the commission has been upheld. Through their publications, the commissions have given the people an opportunity to know the status of the business of the various public service corporations. In so doing they have protected investors and have enabled the people to judge of the justness of the rates they are paying for service. In making tests of the quality of gas furnished in the various cities of the state, and in testing gas-meters and electric-meters, the work of the commission has been very satisfactory. The commission of the second district has also done excellent work in eliminating grade crossings and in requiring the use of safety appliances on steam-cars and street surface-cars.

In the fixing of rates the commissions have proceeded very cautiously and have taken the position that the public is more interested in good service than in low rates. Judging from the accomplishments of the commissions thus far, the fixing of rates will prove the most unsatisfactory phase of their work. Rate-making, at best, is an intricate matter and it is extremely difficult for a commission to determine just what will be the effect of a change of rates. The public sometimes demands the impossible and the companies are likely to claim more than is just. As the companies are usually in a better posi-

tion to employ experts than is the public, their side of the matter is often more ably presented to the commission, and as the fixing of a low rate by the commission would almost inevitably result in transferring the points of contention from the commission to the courts, the commission would naturally be inclined to deal gently with the corporations. Such has been the history of rate-making bodies throughout the country. Owing to the great importance, as well as the difficulty of the matter, the fixing of rates will likely prove the crucial test in the life of public service commissions. If they ultimately fail in this respect, the public must have recourse to other means of securing public service at a fair price.

Another serious danger lies in the path leading to the ultimate success of the public service commissions. The position of commissioner pays an attractive salary, the intention of the makers of the law being to induce men of the highest type to accept positions on the commission. The salary, however, is just as attractive to the politician as to the capable business or professional man, and the probabilities are that the majority of the commissioners appointed will be politicians and not men well fitted for the position. An unscrupulous politician, if elected governor, could fill the commissions with men of his own type and could use the commissions

to compel corporations to pay large campaign funds or to otherwise support the party in power. The New York State Railroad Commission, which was abolished by the act creating the public service commissions, was a decided failure because the men appointed to the railroad commission had no particular fitness for the work they were called upon to perform. Most of them were active workers in their political party and were given the appointment either as a reward for past favors or as a retainer for future work. This railroad commission was in existence twenty-four years, but at no time during its history did it have the full confidence of the people or of the railroads. It did some good work, but it could not be counted on to act in a large way in regard to any matters that were likely to influence votes for any political party.

It may be pessimistic to consider the probability of the deterioration in character of the public service commissions of New York State as well as those recently appointed in other states, but no one with an intimate knowledge of the conduct of political affairs in this country can hope for the long continuance in office of men chosen for their character and special fitness and who do not render political service to the party responsible for their appointment. We may fondly talk of the merit system and in-

dulge the hope that governors will act with independence and wisdom in appointing public service commissions, but so long as political parties are dominated by the spoilsmen, our talk and hope are likely to be in vain. So many governmental commissions and departments have been wrecked by placing incapable and unprincipled men at their head, that it is not unreasonable to suppose that public service commissions would be likewise affected.

As the theory underlying the establishment of the commissions is that the commission shall act as a body of arbitrators, doing absolute justice to the public as well as to the corporations, any body of men moved by any other ideal would naturally fail in their work. The time may come when the public generally and the managers of corporations will see clearly that absolute justice is the ideal to be aimed at, and there may be general cooperation to this end, but this ideal is still far distant. The general attitude of the public and the public service corporation is one of antagonism. The public often asks unreasonable things, and the corporation is often not willing to grant reasonable demands. The only hope in this state of affairs, is for a commission imbued with the idea of justice and with sufficient courage to declare it at all times.

Since the establishment of the New York

State public service commissions, other states have passed similar acts, and in some cities the public service commission is a municipal body. Although this method of regulation is not yet ideal or even satisfactory, it is considered by many the most practicable that can be adopted, and we look for its further extension.

Municipal Ownership

If a city or state cannot secure satisfactory control of its public service corporations it may take up the public work itself. No question relating to municipal life has been so thoroughly discussed as that of municipal ownership of public utilities. Many volumes on the subject have already been published, and as there are no recent developments that present the subject in a new light there is no excuse for more. The special committee appointed by the National Civic Federation in 1906 made a most comprehensive study of the subject in this country and Europe and published voluminous reports of their findings. While the committee did not entirely agree, their report as a whole was strongly in favor of municipal ownership.

In an ideal state of society, we can conceive of no other method of control of public utilities. Work in which the whole people of a municipality are interested should naturally be performed by the people acting through their organized

government. There is certainly nothing ideal in a state of society that permits the individual to enrich himself by supplying public necessities at monopolistic prices. It has often been pointed out that the cost of public service is the same, whether the service is rendered by an individual, a private corporation, or by a municipality. This is undoubtedly true, but where the service is rendered by an individual, or a private corporation, the public not only must pay a profit to such individual or corporation, above the cost of the service, but it also loses control of the means of improving the service.

As an illustration, take a city water-supply system. If the system is owned by a private corporation, such corporation may refuse to extend its mains to supply new sections of the city, and no matter how badly the public may wish the mains extended, it is almost impossible to force the corporation to act. On the other hand, if the supply system is owned and managed by the city, the extensions can be made without difficulty to meet the demands of the citizens. Likewise, in the management of other public utilities, such as street-car systems, gas and electric supply systems, if they are owned and controlled by the municipality extensions and modifications to meet demands may be made at any time. Under this system of management, the public controls its own business and may de-

velop it to suit its own needs. It can take not only the financial aspect of the service into consideration, but the sanitary and esthetic aspects as well. A private corporation is concerned primarily with the profits it is able to derive, while the municipality in conducting the same business is concerned with the effect the service will have upon the general well-being of the citizens. For this reason, no doubt, most cities have taken over their water-supply systems, the water-supply being so closely related to the health of the people that public opinion would not permit of its exploitation by public service corporations.

In European cities, public ownership of public utilities is the rule, and private or corporate ownership of public utilities, the exception. One can take a trip through Italy, Switzerland, Germany and France without riding on any but state-owned railways, and in most of the towns through which the traveler will pass he will find the street-car service, as well as the gas and electric service, entirely owned and managed by the public. He will also find the telegraph and telephone service in the hands of the people. The success of public ownership in the cities of continental Europe is no longer questioned. In most of such cities no other method of management of public utilities would be considered. While public ownership has not always brought

progress and efficient management, it is safe to say that, as a rule, it has given much better satisfaction than private ownership. European cities that once adopt public ownership never revert to private ownership.

Germany leads the world in the management of its public utilities, and it is not improbable that public ownership has had much to do with the splendid development that has taken place in recent years in German cities. The Germans have acquired the habit of working out all their problems upon scientific principles. They study methods, devices and plans, and do not hesitate to adopt those that prove most worthy. They are imbued with a high ideal of civilization, and place the public good above private advancement. The scholar, the engineer, or superintendent is willing to serve the state at a reasonable salary and finds his reward in the satisfaction derived from promoting the public good.

Public ownership in America has not proved altogether satisfactory. However, so far as we are able to judge from printed reports concerning publicly managed and privately managed public utilities in various sections of the country, there is no reason to decry public ownership. It seems to have done as well if not better than private ownership under similar circumstances. Public ownership in America, how-

ever, is a failure compared with public ownership in Germany, just as municipal government in general in American cities, with the possible exception of the commission governed cities, is a failure compared with municipal government in German cities.

The citizens of American municipalities have not yet learned the great lesson of cooperation. American cities are made up to a very great extent of foreigners coming from different nationalities, and of young men coming into the city from the farms. The foreigners of different nationalities cannot cooperate with each other or with the American residents of the city because of their lack of a common language, and because most of them are imbued with the idea of personal advancement. The young men from the farms lack knowledge of the needs and requirements of the city and are entirely ignorant of the city's need of cooperation. On the farm, each family acts for itself. Initiative and individuality develop on the farm, but not the ability to cooperate. As a result of the combination of these various elements, the American city lacks the spirit of cooperation for the public good which is absolutely essential to the management and control of public utilities. As the cities become older and develop a more stable and homogeneous population, the idea of cooperation will undoubtedly take firmer hold upon

the people, and we may confidently expect the American city of the future to succeed in the matter of municipal ownership as well as its European neighbors.

CHAPTER XIII

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN EDUCATION

EDUCATION is becoming primarily the function of the city. Elementary schools, and some high schools and small colleges, are still to be found in rural districts, but as the training they offer cannot compete with that given in a first class city, they are gradually losing ground. Country children in large numbers go to city schools, while practically no city children go to rural schools. One of the principal causes of the depletion of the rural districts and of the growth of cities is the desire on the part of parents living in the country to give their children the educational advantages to be had only in the city.

The reasons for the city's supremacy in education are two. The city has abundant wealth, and a sufficient number of people to maintain the large variety of instruction necessary in schools at the present time. Modern methods of instruction demand illustrative material, laboratory equipment, and costly reference libraries. In country districts, as a rule, the

money for these things is lacking and the number of pupils is so few and their tastes are so simple that the need of elaborate equipment is not felt. The great city, on the other hand, is a beehive of accumulated wealth and learning, in which are crowded a multitude of souls of varied tastes and needs.

It is to the city, therefore, that we must look for education that shall perfect the individual and promote the civilization of our age. The country will continue to have its elementary ungraded schools and agricultural schools, but nothing more. Education, considered in its broadest sense, consequently becomes the city's most important function.

If the world were stationary, and knowledge a fixed quantity, education would soon become a routine matter in which we would have little concern, but we live in the rapidly changing age of an evolving world. Knowledge is becoming so extensive that few minds can conceive its scope. Social and political relations are becoming more complex as new institutions arise. Man's power over nature, and his ability to use nature's energy for his own benefit, are developing at a pace undreamed of by our forefathers. The secrets of life and death, of health and disease, are being revealed, with the happy result that health and long life bless the age. The children born into the world in this scientific and

mechanical period can be adjusted to their environment only by a long period of careful training. So much effort on the part of parent, child, and the community is required, that in comparatively few instances can the adjustment or education be said to be complete.

In no civilized country, at the present time, is there a close approach to universal education. In many countries there is still a large percentage of the people who can scarcely read and write. In spite of accumulated wisdom, in spite of splendid opportunities afforded by modern institutions of learning, in spite of the recognized advantages of education to the individual and to society, the majority of mankind still remains ignorant. The average man knows little of the past experience of the race and has only a superficial knowledge of the present-day world. The social effects of this lack of knowledge are everywhere apparent. The ignorant man, like the passenger on an ocean-liner, is carried along, not knowing whether he is making progress in the right direction or not. He trusts others to guide him aright, and not seldom becomes the victim of misplaced confidence. Too often his captain is a pirate. The ignorant man is not only helpless himself, but almost useless as a member of society. He may be willing to cooperate with others, but not being able to understand the results of his conduct, he is as

likely to cooperate with those who retard the progress of society, as with those who promote it.

In a modern city, every normal boy and girl should be well educated. The means are at hand. The need is no longer questioned. The gains realized by society would be incalculable. Such education does not necessarily mean graduation from a modern college, although that standard is none too high, but intellectually it would include certain essentials; viz., a thorough knowledge of the development of the physical universe, including the laws of energy, matter and life in all their varied forms; a complete survey of the history and progress of society, including economics, commerce, government, and international relations; a comprehensive study of the constitution of a human being in all its biological and psychological aspects, and a professional training which will enable the individual to render expert services to society, and maintain himself and family in an independent position.

Professor Lester Ward, in his "Applied Sociology," advances the idea that every individual should become familiar with the general principles in every realm of knowledge. While such a degree of education could scarcely be realized at the present time, its desirability cannot be questioned. Professor Ward, in discussing the re-

sults of such broad, general education, develops the great truth that most of the perplexing social problems of the present day are due to man's ignorance, and would naturally disappear under the light of a trained intelligence in the whole body of citizens.

While few advanced thinkers would deny the desirability of thorough education for all, the difficulties to be met in working out a system that will produce such happy results are almost insurmountable. It is encouraging to note that, although the ideal is in the far distance, great progress toward universal education is being made. Practically all civilized countries at the present time have an organized system of public education, and in the more progressive countries a child may obtain a high school, and even a college education, without payment of excessive fees. Most states no longer stop with giving an opportunity for education. They require all children of certain ages to receive instruction, and provide truant schools and reform schools for those who refuse to avail themselves of the advantages offered in regular schools.

While compulsory education is, and no doubt will continue to be necessary in some cases, a new and better way of dealing with the problem of securing school attendance is found in shaping the work of the schools to meet the demands of all classes. In the ordinary public

schools of the cities, there is little to attract and hold a child who has reached the productive age. Either parents or the state must exert a strong influence to keep the child in school. When the school is so organized that a boy or girl can recognize its advantages, and parents can feel that their children are profiting by attendance, compulsion on the part of the state will be no longer necessary. This happy result is being attained in many localities.

The most effective means of relating the school to home life and the aspirations of children in various conditions, is the continuation or vocational school, which takes the child at eleven or twelve years of age and gives him training in any one of a large number of useful occupations. In the better grade of these schools, the general education of the child is continued while proficiency in the trades is being attained. Like many of our best educational institutions, the continuation school is the product of German thought, and has reached its highest development in Munich. In our later discussion of recent improvements in educational systems will be found a more extended reference to these excellent schools in the Bavarian capital.

Another great aid to universal education is the evening school, which when fully equipped, offers instruction in a large variety of subjects to any one not able to attend a day-school.

Although courses in vocational instruction in evening schools are most popular, not a few students avail themselves of the opportunity afforded to pursue cultural studies.

The free libraries found in every modern city, extend an invitation to all to explore the wealth of knowledge they contain. General culture is greatly augmented by lecture courses held by scientific, historical, semi-social, and religious organizations. Young Men's Christian Associations, Catholic clubs, and societies in almost every church arrange lectures to promote interest in art, literature and movements for social betterment.

Recent years have witnessed the development of the correspondence school, an institution which aims to supplement the meager education its students obtained elsewhere and to increase their earning capacity. While the courses offered by these schools are all along practical lines and deal largely with technical subjects, there is no doubt that they are an important factor in promoting general education.

In the presence of all these opportunities, it is hard to comprehend the reason for the ignorance that still prevails. Perhaps the matter is partly explained by the slowness of change in the customs and habits of the people in general, partly by inherited lack of interest and capacity of a portion of the population, and partly by

the economic stress to which the poorer classes are subjected. Whatever be the cause, all students of society are agreed that it stands as the principal bar to greater progress of the race.

The outlook for the future in education was never brighter. More thought and study are being devoted to the subject than ever before. A gain in method or theory in one city is widely heralded, so that, in a comparatively short time, the whole world profits by the discoveries of successful educators. Education is no longer national in outlook and aim, but like music, science and medicine, is international. Educators know no national boundaries in their exchange of ideas and methods. The aim of the up-to-date school is to use the best methods regardless of their origin, and to train young men and women for world citizenship. Unfortunately the schools of this type are not yet numerous, but they are increasing.

Another hopeful trend in modern education is the emphasis placed on present-day life. The time-honored classics, to the regret of many, are fast disappearing from schools and colleges in every land, as out of joint with the age. When education was confined to the monastery, Latin and Greek were found useful for mental exercise, but to-day we have so many things to think about and we live so strenuous a life, that

we find a necessity for casting overboard non-essentials. The old speculative theology, with gloomy discussions of medieval ideas, is also being relegated to the shelf. A scientific and practical age has no use for it. People are thinking more about "getting on," than about their origin or destiny. Modern religious teachers are using their energy in behalf of a city of God made by men and women here on earth. Instead of revivals churches are supporting vacation schools, playgrounds, and young people's clubs. The modern sermon deals with the application of ideals of good-will, justice, beauty and service to every-day life. The significance of the change is far-reaching.

In the domain of schools there is continual change. No one but the specialist can adequately note the progress. There are, however, some recent developments that are working more or less of a revolution in educational methods in our cities. Four of these newer phases of education, on account of their great significance in the general movement for social betterment, are discussed at some length in the following pages.

The Montessori Schools

When Froebel and his disciples, in perfecting the kindergarten, succeeded in making the education of young children a matter of delight to

both pupil and teacher, it seemed to many educators that the last word had been said on the subject of primary education. That such an opinion was not without reason, is evidenced by the fact that for seventy years the kindergarten maintained the field without an important rival. Meanwhile it had spread from Germany to every civilized land. Like many other systems that have well served their age, only in time to be displaced, the kindergarten is now likely to be greatly modified, or perhaps entirely superseded, by a new system of primary education which had its beginning in Rome, in 1907.

This innovation is mainly the work of Dr. Maria Montessori, a physician, psychologist and educator of Rome. Her theories and methods are fully set forth in her new book, "Il Methodo della Pedagogia Scientifica." (The Method of Scientific Pedagogy.) Dr. Montessori is a brilliant woman of middle age, whose life thus far has been devoted to study of the human body and mind, and the development of her pedagogical ideas. After graduating from the school of medicine of the University of Rome she became assistant physician in the clinic of psychiatry in Rome. Later she was placed in charge of a school for feeble-minded and defective children. In this school children were instructed according to the methods of individual tutelage developed by Itard and Seguin.

The remarkable progress made, led Dr. Montessori to the conclusion that similar methods might be used to good advantage in schools for normal children. Accordingly, she set herself to work and her "Method of Scientific Pedagogy" is the result.

While serving on the board of judges of the Department of Education, in the International Exposition at Milan in 1906, Dr. Montessori was invited by Edward Talamo, Director of the Instituto Romano di Beni Stabili (The Good Homes Company of Rome), to take charge of schools which were being established in the groups of tenements built by his company. Talamo's purpose was to bring together, in an attractive room and yard, children from three to seven years of age of tenants forming the group, and place them in charge of a competent instructor who would also live in the establishment. As the company owned over four hundred tenements, and as full opportunity for a trial of the method would be allowed, Dr. Montessori gladly accepted Talamo's offer. In January, 1907, the first school was opened in a tenement group containing about one thousand persons, and located in the San Lorenzo quarter of Rome. This school was christened the "Children's House," or in Italian "La Casa dei Bambini." The expense of building and main-

MADAME MONTESSORI
Originator of the Montessori System

taining the school was paid by the company. It is interesting to note that rents were not raised when the school was established.

On our recent trip in Italy, we visited several of these "Children's Houses" in different quarters of Rome, and were greatly impressed by the things we saw and heard. In the group tenements and the "Children's Houses" we found combined the work of two great geniuses, Edward Talamo, the home builder of Rome, who is transforming vile rookeries into abodes of comfort and health, and Maria Montessori, whose schools are transforming the children of tenements from street Arabs into little men and women. Through neighborhood cooperation, working in harmony with a guiding spirit, the blessings of wealth are here being enjoyed by the poor. There is no charity in the enterprise, as the tenants pay in the rental of their homes for the advantages they and their children receive, but here are found many things not usually enjoyed by tenants. Here are cleanliness, sunlight, fresh air and abounding health; here are free medical service, and free club rooms, in addition to new primary schools.

The "Children's House" is a separate building in the spacious yard adjoining the tenements, or in a pleasant room on the ground floor of one of the buildings. So far as room and

children are concerned, the school is not unlike the kindergarten. In the scheme of instruction, however, there is a wide divergence.

The fundamental aims of the "Children's House" are to insure the physical perfection of the child, to develop initiative, to train systematically the senses, and to develop and strengthen the child's personality. The emphasis is on the individual instead of on the class, and on the child instead of on the subject matter. Direct personal instruction and development of special senses which were the secrets of Seguin's success, are here continued and modified so as to apply to normal children. The results demonstrate the soundness of Dr. Montessori's conclusion, reached while a teacher in the school for defectives, that methods applied to defective children might be advantageously used in all primary classes.

At the opening of the "Children's House" in the morning, every child goes to the teacher for inspection. The little one holds up its freshly washed hands, shows its brushed teeth and neatly combed hair, with a feeling of genuine pride. The teacher smiles her approval. Before beginning school work the child dons a long apron, which serves as a protection to the dress, and as a safeguard against the dissemination of germs. The highest standard of personal cleanliness is maintained and great care is taken to

promote health. The teacher is continually on the watch for any signs of disease or physical defects. If the child shows the least sign of illness, or seems to have some physical imperfection, the matter is referred to the parents and to the house physician, who takes the action necessary under the circumstances. Teacher and physician are a part of the large family group, and freely consult with the parents respecting the welfare of the children. The health of the children is also promoted by breathing and calisthenic exercises, by play in the open air, and by working in gardens connected with the school. The teacher aims to build up the physique of each child and, therefore, plans exercises in each case to meet the child's needs.

Initiative is developed by freedom from restraint, and by giving full opportunity for choice and decision. Dr. Montessori recognizes that, while children are naturally active, activity of itself does not develop initiative. A choice of activities must be possible, and the child must have full liberty to choose without fear of reproach or criticism. The only restriction to liberty in the "Children's House" is that caused by the presence of other children. The children quickly grasp the idea that the spirit of freedom abounds, but such freedom cannot go to the extent of permitting one child to infringe upon the liberty or freedom of another. Discipline is

secured by the natural interest of children in the exercises given them, and by their love of teacher and school which prompts them to do the thing suggested. In many kindergartens and primary classes, initiative is stifled by the overactivity of the teacher in directing the work of children. In such schools, exercises are performed in unison, and children, instead of each acting for himself, blindly follow the teacher or leader. In the Montessori schools, exercises are mainly individual. The pupil takes up apparatus that is free and works with it. The teacher assists but does not control the activity of the child. Control is with the child itself.

We walked into the open door of a "Children's House" filled with busy pupils. Some of the little ones paid no attention to us. Others looked up and smiled, and three or four bright ones, with no sign to or from the teacher, came to us with hands outstretched and said "Bon giorno, Signori," and when we left, others came to bid us good-by and to ask us to come again. At another "Children's House" we were present at the opening exercises. A little prayer song was sung, and then each child got out the apparatus he wanted to use. There was no strife, as there was plenty of apparatus, but there was genuine, immediate interest and a display of self-directed activity such as we had never before witnessed in children of that age.

SCHOOLROOM IN ONE OF THE "CHILDREN'S HOUSES" IN ROME

On the small tables is displayed some of the apparatus used in the Montessori method

The school works according to a general program, but there is no compulsion on the part of the teacher. If a child tires of one piece of apparatus, he takes another, or if he feels like leaving the school-room, he is permitted to go into the garden or yard at any time.

A special departure from the ordinary kindergarten and primary school, is training of the senses. As sight and hearing are the means through which a child acquires most of its knowledge of the external world, all systems of education recognize the need of good eyes and good ears. The common experience of teachers, however, bears witness to the fact that many a child with good eyes sees little and often sees that little wrong, and that many a child with good ears is deaf to the thing that is being taught. The eyes and ears of such children may be likened to valuable musical instruments that become worthless in the absence of a skilled musician.

In the training of defective children, as in the cases of Helen Keller and Laura Bridgman, the development of one sense has proceeded so far that it has been able to take the place of others; few teachers, however, have deemed it worth while or necessary to develop systematically the sense organs in normal children. In the "Children's House" a progressive series of exercises is given to train the sense of touch,

sight and hearing. In the main, these exercises are performed independently by each pupil, and care is taken to detect and remedy if possible any defect of touch, hearing or vision that may be discovered.

Dr. Montessori, in taking up the sense training, begins with the sense of touch. The first exercise is one to distinguish a rough surface from a smooth one by rubbing the fingers over pieces of wood specially prepared for this purpose. A very smooth piece and a very rough one are first taken. The teacher passes the finger-tips of the child over the smooth one, and says "smooth," and then over the rough one and says "rough." Then the child is left to examine the pieces at leisure. Gradually, other pieces of varying degrees of smoothness are added and the child learns to arrange them in the order of their smoothness. Blocks of various geometrical figures are given to the child to handle and fit into matrices of like form. The names of the forms are taught as the child learns to distinguish them. At first, the senses of sight and touch are both used in recognizing forms. Later, the child recognizes by touch alone or by sight alone. To test the sense of touch alone the child is blindfolded. In training the sense of sight, the child is first shown a number of sticks having the same width but varying in length, and is asked to pick out the longest

and the shortest. The sticks picked out are laid aside and the process repeated until all the sticks have been taken from the pile. The last sticks are very nearly equal in length, and to decide between them requires close observation on the part of the child. A similar series of squares and cubes is given the pupil to arrange according to size.

Another series of exercises is designed to train the eye to distinguish colors. A large number of spools or cards on which different colored yarns are wound, are used. At first, the more striking colors are taught. Later, many shades of the same color are used and the child arranges the spools in accordance with the intensity of the color. Sometimes the spools are mixed up in a pile and the child takes them from the pile and arranges them systematically on the table. As eight principal colors are used and eight shades of each, it is readily seen that careful discrimination must be made by the child.

In order to avoid monotony in the school, a large variety of apparatus is provided for different exercises. There is a series of weights for training the muscular sense, blocks of the same size, but of different weights to be assorted, fabrics of many kinds to be distinguished by sight and touch, sounding boxes to be graded according to intensity of sound, waists or jackets

stretched on frames to be buttoned and laced in imitation of dresses, and many other interesting devices.

While the sense training is mainly individual, it is occasionally conducted as a game. Cards containing the colored yarns, for example, regardless of order or color, are distributed to several pupils. One pupil will then undertake to arrange the colors in order, according to shades, by calling for the color needed. The child having the color called for, produces it and then another is called for. All of the children taking part, keenly watch the arrangement of colors so that no mistake is made.

The instruction is fitted to the needs of each individual child, and the development of each child is carefully watched. So far as possible, each child is permitted to do the thing he wants to do.

At the age of four, the children are taught to read and write. Dr. Montessori has worked out a new method for teaching writing which fits in perfectly with her system of sense instruction. As preparatory steps, the child marks out the exterior of geometrical forms with a crayon, and the interior of forms cut into a card or piece of wood as a stencil. By using colored crayons and bringing the various forms together, the child becomes greatly interested in the designs he is able to produce.

The next step is to give him letters that have been cut out. The sounds of these letters are associated with their forms. After the child can recognize the letters, a large number are given him to pick out and form into words. Cards with raised script letters are then given him to trace. After a little practise in these exercises, the child is ready to write by himself and will often actually begin writing words independently and without suggestion from the teacher. Little tots of five in these schools write in a clear, round hand such as is not usually acquired in school before the age of ten. Reading comes along with, and almost as easily as, writing. The results are truly marvelous.

Although only five years have elapsed since the first "Children's House" was opened, it is evident that the new system of primary education has come to stay. Dr. Montessori's methods are being introduced in several places in Italy and in schools in France and Germany. Several American students have taken special courses under Dr. Montessori, and returning to America, filled with enthusiasm, are active in establishing schools and teaching the new methods in this country. There is no doubt that, in establishing these schools and in presenting her methods to the world, Dr. Montessori has made the most valuable contribution of the past half century to the cause of primary education.

The Continuation Schools of Munich

The industrial and trade schools of Germany far excel those of any other nation, although France, England and America are now making strenuous efforts to build up schools that will accomplish for the citizens of these countries what the German schools have been doing for workmen for many years. The recent material progress of Germany is, no doubt, closely related to the thorough and practical education it has been giving its young people for the past two decades.

While several German cities have excellent systems of continuation or trade schools, it is generally conceded that Munich outranks the others. It is probable that this city has the best public system of industrial education to be found anywhere in the world. Here in the public schools is realized that great ideal of a city school system which offers instruction to any one in any subject. Regular courses are offered in more than forty trades, and most of these courses are open to school children who pursue their studies during week-days, and to others who are employed during the day and can attend school evenings or Sundays only. Appropriate courses are also offered for those who desire to enter business as clerks, stenographers, salesmen or proprietors.

Although Munich is a city of about six hundred thousand inhabitants, it maintains an intimate relation with its rural environment by providing instruction for the sons of farmers and gardeners living in the surrounding country, who wish to follow their fathers' vocations. Excellent courses in agriculture and gardening are given and are well patronized. The needs of the girls and young women of the city and surrounding country are also not overlooked. For these, schools of dress-making, millinery, embroidery, cooking, stenography and bookkeeping are provided. Students who wish to enter the learned professions go to the university, and those who wish to pursue engineering, architecture, mining, or forestry, take courses in the higher technical schools. Training in all these lines of instruction is given in public institutions within the city. The system of schools provided by the city in cooperation with the Kingdom of Bavaria, comprises elementary schools with the kindergarten classes, the *Real Schulen,* the *Classical Gymnasia,* the elementary industrial school or continuation school, the higher technical school and the University of Munich. A child may enter the system of schools in the kindergarten and pass upward through various grades, and may receive training in any of the learned professions, or in

any one of forty different skilled occupations without going outside the city.

The opportunities thus afforded are eagerly seized. In the year 1908-09 in Munich, the trade and industrial schools for boys and young men were attended by 8,921 students, and the trade and domestic science schools for girls, by 3,685. Altogether 12,606 young people were being trained for life work in these industrial schools. The total number of pupils in the ordinary day-schools at the same time was 65,933. The number of pupils in the trade-schools was, therefore, about one-fifth as large as the number in the day-schools. Probably no other German city could make an equally good showing, and it is certain that no American city has relatively so large a number of children in industrial or trade schools.

Fortunately, the continuation schools are not designed to make mere artizans of boys and girls. On the contrary, the schools offer instruction in science, literature, civics, and history in connection with trade instruction. Physical culture forms an essential part of the course. The aim is to produce not merely workers, but efficient men and women. The serious character of the work is indicated by the fact that the courses are from three to four years in length, and are compulsory for apprentices.

As an illustration of a typical German trade-

school, we may take the Central Continuation School, on Pranckh Strasse, Munich. This building was erected in 1905-06, at a cost of about $125,000, and equipped at a cost of about $45,000. It is attended by about 1,550 students, divided into 61 classes. Besides shops, the building contains thirteen recitation halls, a large lecture-hall and lecture-room, a laboratory for physics, a laboratory for technical chemistry, a large room for free-hand drawing, a conference-room, a library for teachers and one for pupils, and two storerooms. The arrangement of the rooms is as follows:

Basement—workshops for locksmiths, foundrymen and machinists.

1st story—workshops for joiners, stuccoworkers, sculptors, and a physical laboratory and lecture-room.

2d story—the directors' room, assembly hall and libraries, storerooms and four recitation-rooms.

3d story—the commercial laboratory and preparation-room, the room for the technical collection of metals, and five recitation-rooms.

4th story—workrooms for lithographers, tin workers and braziers, a large hall for free-hand drawing, and four recitation-halls.

5th story—workshops for printers and photographers, with necessary appliances, and a terrace for outdoor exposures.

Each story is supplied with hot and cold water.

Similar buildings located in different parts of the city provide instruction in other trades. It

is not found practicable to make a single building large enough to contain proper workshops for all the various courses of instruction. An effort is made, however, to bring related trades together. The shops in the schools are all fully equipped workshops, and the work is made as practical as possible. Care is taken to make the students efficient workmen, and to inculcate in them pride in their chosen occupation.

When Munich started its first trade-school, about thirty-five years ago, the success of the venture seemed doubtful, but the first school was found to fulfil a real demand, and as the value of the trade instruction became known, new schools had to be built to make room for the many children who wished to enter them. Now, after thirty-five years of experience, there is no thought of taking a backward step. The one aim of those in authority in the school system in Munich, is further to develop a system that has proved of such great value. The superintendent of schools of that city, Dr. Georg Kerschensteiner, is recognized throughout the world as the leading exponent of industrial education. In his recent book on "Education for Citizenship" (pp. 24-26), Dr. Kerschensteiner discusses the value of industrial training in fitting the student for the performance of his duty as a citizen as follows:

"As a means of insuring personal efficiency, and so of enabling a pupil to take that part in society which his capacity warrants, the first place must be assigned to a training in trade efficiency. This is the *conditio sine qua non* of all civic education. But in the prosecution of this object, in the training which inspires love of work and results in effectiveness of effort, precisely those civic virtues are developed which must be regarded as the foundation of all higher moral training—conscientiousness, diligence, perseverance, self-restraint, and devotion to a strenuous life. From a consideration of the interdependence of individual interests it may be possible to develop the highest of civic virtues—self-control, justice and devotion to the interests of the community. How far education will be helpful here depends upon the extent to which our educational arrangements make it possible for the pupil to be actively related to his environment and to apply the sympathetic interests we have aroused in him. For action is the only foundation of virtue. This much Aristotle has taught us already. This is also true of the second object which education toward personal efficiency puts before us: the training in a sensible, hygienic mode of life, which eventually makes the pupil a fit subject for military service. Here we shall have to provide not only for the discernment necessary, but also for the possibility of exercising it.

"To sum up, the first aim of education for those leaving the primary school is the development of trade efficiency and love of work, and with this the development of those elementary virtues which effectiveness of effort and love of work immediately call forth—conscientiousness, diligence, perseverance, responsibility, self-restraint, and dedication to a strenuous life.

"In close connection with this the second aim must be pursued: to gain an insight into the relations of individuals to one another and to the State, to understand the laws of health, and to employ the knowledge acquired in the exercise of self-control, justice, and devotion to duty,

and in leading a sensible life, tempered with a strong feeling of personal responsibility.

"The first of these aims is part of a technical education; the second is part of a moral and intellectual education. But it must be remembered that the first aim also has intellectual and moral tendencies of high moment, and that the second, as will be shown later on in detail, can be attained only through the first and as a continuation of it."

Medical Inspection, Modern Hygiene and Physical Training

One of the most promising developments in city schools in the past two decades relates to systematic care of the health of children. In 1894, following serious epidemics among school children, the city of Boston organized a system of medical inspection of its schools. The city was divided into fifty districts and a physician was placed in charge of each district, with instruction to inspect the children residing therein. As the system worked well, it was soon introduced in other cities. In 1895 Chicago was divided into nine districts for the purpose of medical inspection of its schools. New York, in 1897, appointed one hundred and thirty-four medical inspectors to care for the health of school children. Philadelphia and many other cities followed in rapid succession.

A recent investigation of the matter conducted by the Department of Child Hygiene of

the Russell Sage Foundation, brought out the fact that in 1911, 448 cities in the United States had adopted some system of medical inspection in the public schools. This number constitutes about 43 per cent of the cities of the country and a much larger percentage of the whole population. One hundred and six of the 448 cities have placed the medical inspection in charge of boards of health, while 337 have entrusted it to boards of education.

Three classes of medical work are conducted: Inspection for the detection of contagious diseases, examinations to detect defective vision and hearing, and complete physical examinations of pupils to detect physical defects or organic diseases. Practically all cities that have taken up the work include detection of contagious diseases as one feature of the medical inspection. In many cities, the work of making tests for defective vision and hearing is entrusted to teachers. The work of the teachers is usually followed by that of physicians in cases where a teacher's report indicates disease or defective sense organs. In a large number of cities school nurses are employed to examine children and to aid the teacher in detecting the first signs of approaching illness. The nurse is able to reduce the number of children that would be excluded from school on account of minor ills and to secure prompt attention for

children that are threatened with seriousness.

The work of medical inspection has proof great value in checking the spread of contagious disease in the school and community in securing the correction of minor physical fects in children, such as decaying teeth, noids and faulty vision. As these defects among the principal causes of physical mental retardation, their removal proves great aid to children and to the efficiency schools. Many a child that appears backw and seems to take no interest in its studies naturally neither feeble-minded nor lazy, its apparent indifference is caused by some phy cal defect. When the difficulty is removed, t child becomes normal and takes an active i terest in school work. While it might be sa that parents should recognize defects in the children and have them treated by the famil physician, the fact remains that many paren are too ignorant to give proper attention t the matter, and others are indifferent to the wel fare of their children. In such circumstances the city or the state is fully justified in assu ming parental care over the child and helping i to develop physically as well as mentally.

No more important idea has ever been advanced in education than the modern conception that the whole child goes to school, that the

school takes the place of the parent, not only in giving mental instruction, but in caring for every phase of the child's welfare. If a child goes to school with a contagious disease, it must be cared for, not only for its own sake, but for the safety of the school and community. A child going to school with a vicious habit is no less a danger to itself and the community. In perhaps a less degree the child suffering from any defect that will tend to retard its development must be helped for the good of the state as well as for its own welfare.

In addition to work done for the prevention of diseases and the removal of physical defects through the agency of physicians, many cities are adopting new methods of hygiene that are proving of great efficacy in promoting the health of school children. These new methods have to do with the cleaning and ventilation of the schoolroom, the prevention of the transmission of germs by common drinking-cups, the use of sanitary appliances and the giving to children an opportunity for outdoor recreation.

Under the old method of cleaning a schoolroom, the janitors would sweep with an ordinary broom, and after the dust raised by the broom had settled, the desks and other furniture would be dusted with a feather duster. Floors were rarely washed and never oiled. The blackboards likewise were seldom washed and the erasers

never cleaned. Under this method the schoolroom remained always dusty, and in case contagious disease germs found a lodgment, some of them would cling to the dust particles and would from time to time find lodgment in the throats and air-passages of pupils occupying the room. The new method of hygiene regards dust as an enemy to the school and every possible means is taken to eliminate it. Floors are oiled and cleaning is conducted by means of washing or the use of damp cloths. Windows and blackboards, as well as the furniture of the room, are frequently washed and the blackboard erasers are taken from the room to be thoroughly cleaned. Schools most advanced in matters of sanitary cleaning are using vacuum cleaners to remove dust.

Under the old method of ventilation, the air was permitted to come in the schoolroom through cracks in windows and doors. Sometimes, when weather would permit, the windows would be opened. When the need of proper ventilation came to be realized, a gravity system of ventilation was adopted in many city schools. While promising well in theory this system never worked satisfactorily, and in many schools in which it was installed no effort was made to use it. The modern school of the advanced type leaves nothing to chance in the way of ventilation. A method of forced ventilation is

adopted, by means of which a generous supply of fresh air of the proper temperature is forced into the schoolrooms and fans for the removal of impure air are provided. Under this system, pupils are continually supplied with the needed oxygen without being subjected to the dangers of drafts or sudden changes of temperature. The new method not only promotes the health of children, but is conducive to a higher degree of mental work.

The old method of supplying drinking water to school children was to have a faucet in a sink in a corridor, with one or two tin or granite-ware cups chained thereto. These cups were used in common by all the children, and the cup after being attached to the chain received no further attention until worn out. It is commonly believed that this method of providing drinking water to school children has been the means of disseminating many diseases. The common drinking-cup is now everywhere condemned. Its complete banishment from the schoolroom is only a matter of time. The better class of schools are providing individual drinking-cups and sanitary fountains. Of the two, the sanitary fountain is much to be preferred. So long as the water-supply is pure there is no possibility of the spread of disease from the sanitary drinking fountain. The safety of individual cups depends upon their kind and the use made

of them. Their adoption is not to be recommended, except under a system that will insure hygienic use.

In the modern schoolroom the health of children is also promoted by means of proper school furniture. Among various articles introduced, the adjustable desk is entitled to first place. There are many types of adjustable desks, but all agree in being so constructed that they can be raised or lowered to suit the needs of pupils. These desks promote the comfort of the child and prevent to a large degree bodily defects that arise from unnatural postures assumed on account of ill-fitting desks. Better types of blackboards and erasers are being introduced, so that dust from the use of the blackboard is largely eliminated.

In the old-fashioned country school and in many country schools of the present time, a recess of from fifteen to twenty minutes is given in the middle of the morning session of the school and another in the middle of the afternoon session. At this recess the children of the school go out into the yard and play games or stroll about the grounds. In cities a general recess of this kind is not usually found practicable. However, a large percentage of schools give a recess in the elementary grades. The desirability of a short period of outdoor recreation to break the half-day sessions of the school

in all grades of work, is generally recognized, and most cities are making provision for its adoption or continuance. The modern school goes a step farther in promoting the physical welfare of its pupils. A well-equipped gymnasium is now considered essential in the city high school and a thoroughly equipped playground is likewise deemed a necessity in connection with the elementary school. A competent physical instructor is placed in charge of the gymnasium, and pupils of the school are given systematic instruction relative to the care and development of their bodies. Unfortunately, many physical instructors consider the routine of exercises the most important part of their work and give but little attention to the individual needs of the pupils. This, however, does not apply to the better class of physical instructors. The aim of the best physical instruction is to build up the physique of each individual pupil. The physical instructor ascertains by means of measurements and tests the physical needs of the child, and then takes the proper steps to supply these needs. Children are taught to stand, walk and sit properly. They are given instruction relative to eating, drinking and sleeping. The physical exercises assigned to each pupil are devised to meet his peculiar needs. Although some drills are given in gymnasium exercises, the open-air is preferred and exhilarating exer-

cises, such as skating or playing games, is preferred to walking or non-competitive drills. The physical instructor and the medical inspector work in harmony in building up the bodies of children entrusted to their care.

It has been found that a large percentage of school children have curvature of the spine. If discovered and given proper treatment, the curvature in most cases can be corrected. This forms one of the important phases of the work of the physical instructor.

We have made no reference to the development of special physical instruction for each sex which is taking place in our best high schools. Girls in a modern high school are placed in charge of a competent physical instructor, who carefully studies the physique of each pupil and does everything in her power to promote their physical well-being.

Associated with the work of physical instruction and school hygiene, is the school garden idea which now takes such a large place in educational literature. The school garden has three principal aims: first, development of the child's interest in the cultivation of plants and flowers; second, promotion of the health; third, inculcation of habits of work and cooperation. In the school garden, each child is assigned a plot of ground, furnished with seeds and tools, and is

given instruction in methods of cultivating the soil, planting seeds and caring for plants. To a very considerable extent, the child is permitted to choose the kind of plants he will raise and to dispose of his products as he sees fit. The child works in harmony with others. He is not permitted to interfere with the work of other pupils and others are not permitted to interfere with him. The child readily sees that rules of procedure in the garden arise from natural conditions. He also soon recognizes the fact that what he sows he will reap, and the measure of his crop will be gauged by the attention and care he has exercised. Work out-of-doors in the midst of a favorable environment is healthful and stimulating. The interest aroused by the sense of ownership and pride in the production of things of beauty adds to the child's self-respect and ambition. It is not expected that a thorough knowledge of agriculture or gardening will be obtained from the school garden, and pupils who work the gardens are not expected to be gardeners, but all of them will have a greater or less opportunity of cultivating plants in their own gardens or homes. There is no doubt that the school garden, by training children to care properly for plants, serves to bring cheerfulness into many barren homes.

The Wider Use of the School Plant

A movement of unusual significance has recently taken place in connection with the use of public school buildings in cities. It had been a long and well-established custom in America to use school buildings for school purposes only, and it was thought decidedly improper to admit anything that savored of the nature of an entertainment. The same idea with reference to the school building obtained in the larger and some of the smaller villages. In the country, however, where the schoolhouse formed the only available meeting-place of the neighborhood, people by common consent often made the schoolhouse the social center. On Sunday, church service would be held in the schoolhouse, and during the week there would be occasional meetings in the schoolhouse for debates, prayer meetings and entertainments. The extent of the use in any case was determined by the needs of the people. If a neighborhood possessed a church or hall, the school building would be used only for school purposes, but in many instances it was the rallying place of the neighborhood and, consequently, has furnished the "historical precedent" for the wider use of school buildings in cities.

From the standpoint of its advocates, the wider use of school buildings in cities is to be recommended, first, because of its economic gain,

and, second, because of its social advantages. It is argued that it is folly for a community to erect a costly school building and use it only four or five hours a day, when, with little added expense, the same building could be profitably used for ten or twelve hours. By wider use of school buildings, the public acquires the equivalent of a double rental, or, in other words, gets twice as much service for the same investment. As a social factor, the value of the school building increases in proportion to its use. The people of most resident sections in our cities are sadly in need of a common meeting-place. Wealthy members of the community find society in clubs, and those who enjoy drinking make free use of saloons, but, as a rule, the larger number of people constituting the community have no common meeting-place. When the doors of the school building are thrown open and suitable meeting-rooms and entertainments are provided, it is found that people gladly avail themselves of the opportunity to come together and become acquainted. Under proper supervision, the school building is made a more elevating meeting-place than the saloon or even the social club.

As a purely educational factor, the use of the school building may also be greatly extended. In many cities its wider use is confined to evening schools, lecture courses, public debates, and

meetings and entertainments of school societies. While there can be no question of the value of these things they do not enable the community to realize the full value of the school plant.

The movement for the use of the city schoolhouse as a social center came into prominence in Rochester, in 1907. A large number of civic, social and political organizations came together and formed themselves into an association called the "School Extension Committee." More than fifty thousand people were represented by the committee. The question of the establishment of social centers was discussed in each of the various organizations, and a general agreement upon the desirability of the project was reached. The committee laid the matter before the mayor and common council and was successful in securing their cooperation. The finance committee of the council recommended that an appropriation of five thousand dollars be made for the organization of school extension work. This fund was to cover the expenses of the equipment and maintenance of social center work for the first year, the cost of equipping two playgrounds and maintaining them during the season, the cost of out-of-door grammar school athletics, and the expense of maintaining one vacation school through the summer. A supervisor to have charge of the entire work, with the exception of the vacation school, was agreed

upon. The committee very fortunately selected Edward J. Ward, a college man with experience in athletic work, who had also successfully conducted an institutional church. Before entering upon his work in Rochester, Mr. Ward visited the great South Park System of Chicago with its play-grounds and municipal centers. He also investigated the recreation centers and public lecture system of New York City. He decided, however, not to follow the lines of work developed in these cities, but to take up a new line which promised better results.

Taking the little red school-house of the country neighborhood as typical of the wider service to be rendered by the city school building, Mr. Ward worked out an elaborate plan and secured the hearty cooperation of the board of education, as well as that of the school extension committee. He describes, in the following words, the institution as he conceived it:

"The social center was not to take the place of any existing institution; it was not to be a charitable medium for the service particularly of the poor; it was not to be a new kind of evening school; it was not to take the place of any church or other institution of moral uplift; it was not to serve simply as an 'Improvement Association,' by which the people in one community should seek only the welfare of their district; it was not to be a 'civic reform' organization, pledged to some change in city or state or national administration; it was just to be the restoration to its true place in social life of that most American of all institutions, the public school center, in order that through this

extended use of the school building might be developed, in the midst of our complex life, the community interest, the neighborly spirit, the democracy that we knew before we came to the city."

Just what Mr. Ward had in mind is better indicated by the equipment and program provided for the school center. The aim was to make the center as interesting and profitable as possible to the greatest number of people. For those who were interested in athletics, there was provided a gymnasium with all its accessories, including baths. For those who desired recreation, there was furnished a variety of table games. For those who desired to study or read, there was set apart a well-equipped library and reading-room. There was also an auditorium where lectures and entertainments were given and dances held. In order to secure the largest use of the institution thus provided, self-governing clubs of men, women, girls and boys were organized. In arranging for the discussions and lectures to be held in the auditorium, the committee decided to allow the widest range of topics, not even tabooing politics and religion.

At first, the school extension committee planned to fit up several school buildings in different parts of the city for social centers, but in view of the limited appropriation, it was finally decided to concentrate the first year's effort on one institution, and for this purpose

school building No. 14 was selected in a representative district made up of respectable middle-class citizens of both native and foreign parentage. The building was duly fitted up according to Mr. Ward's plan, and it was decided that the social center should be open every evening except Sunday, from 7.30 to 10 o'clock. Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday evenings were set apart for the use of men and boys, Monday and Wednesday evenings for women and girls, and Friday evening was general club night, for which an entertainment or lecture, open to both men and women, was provided.

The social center was formally opened on Friday evening, November 1, 1907. Three hundred and fourteen people were present. At this meeting, the president of the board of education delivered the principal address, and Mr. Ward outlined plans for the winter. At the close of the talks, the faculty of the school served refreshments. Following this meeting, a number of clubs were organized and the work of the center went briskly forward. The interest taken by the neighborhood is indicated by attendance records showing that in November the average nightly attendance was 146; in December, 142; in January, 158; in February, 162; in March, 177, and in April, 161. At the end of April, the regular social center activities were suspended, although the various clubs continued

to meet during the month of May. The total attendance for the season amounted to more than 25,000. The experiment proved so successful that the board of education decided to equip two other school buildings as social centers the second year. The general scheme of the first year was continued, although a few important modifications were made. The policy of organizing a large number of small clubs was changed and fewer but larger clubs were organized.

During the first season, the social centers had been closed on Sunday. During the second season, however, it was decided, upon the recommendation of the ministerial association, to allow the use of the centers on Sunday as on weekdays. The second season, day-school children were not permitted to attend meetings at the center, as teachers felt that the children's time should be devoted to lessons at home.

As 1908 was a presidential year, great interest was manifested in the open political discussions which occurred at centers early in the season. Distinguished representatives of all of the principal political parties appeared on entertainment nights and the various clubs engaged in lively debates. The best of feeling was maintained, and it was generally felt that the educational purpose of the center was being well fulfilled.

The work thus being done in Rochester was soon noised abroad and the "school center" project became known as the "Rochester movement." In the spring of 1909, the social centers were honored by a visit from Governor Hughes, who, after inspecting the various features, stated that he was "more interested in what was there being done than in anything else in the world."

The total attendance of the free social centers during the season of 1908-09, was 55,782. The value to the various communities in which the centers were located was incalculable. A new civic spirit had been aroused. A feeling of loyalty and pride in the city had been engendered, and the moral tone of the community elevated.

Unfortunately, some prominent people of the city were offended by the outspoken utterances of certain speakers, and enough influence was secured to cut down the appropriation for the centers. The movement was thus temporarily checked in the city of its birth. Other cities, however, had recognized the value of the idea, and school extension work in various forms was introduced in many sections of the country. Mr. Ward was called from Rochester to the University of Wisconsin and made adviser to the bureau of civic and social center development. He is now engaged in building up social centers in various parts of the State of Wisconsin.

The state universities of Virginia, California,

Kansas, Missouri, Texas and Oklahoma have also taken up the work of extending the social center. In Kentucky, the Philosophic League, a group of social students, have raised a fund for the erection of a model school-house which is to be specially adapted for the use of the community. The University of Texas is likewise sending out circulars giving plans for the building of a school-house for a community club. The movement has spread to Oregon and other states in the far west.

We have thus described at some length this new educational movement, for, although social in its purpose, it is truly educational, and as such it seems to be the one thing most needed. The people of a city need a common meeting ground, and having the school building which is so easily modified for this new purpose, it seems a rational and wise thing to enlarge its service for the community.

CHAPTER XIV

RELIGION AND MUNICIPAL LIFE

A RIDE on the Appian Way in Rome affords a lesson to modern road engineers. This highway has seen centuries roll on and civilization come and go; yet does service to-day. We came to the little church of Domine Quo Vadis. Tradition has it that St. Peter, fleeing from death as a martyr, was met here by his Master. Peter asked "Domine quo vadis?" (Lord, where goest Thou?) Jesus replied "Venio iterum crucifigi." (I come to be crucified again.) To add a touch of reality to the legend, you are shown by a simple old woman the imprint of the feet of Jesus in marble. The prophet of righteousness was fleeing from his task. Back of him was the great city that needed all his help and all the sacrifice he could make for the betterment of municipal life.

The story of Peter's flight in one form and another has been repeated too long. Cities have been neglected; have been left in the hands of unconscionable scoundrels, who have ground the faces of the poor, extracted privilege money

from those who sold their souls and bodies, made themselves rich by bartering away precious franchises the results of labor and the sacrifice of its citizens, sold monopolies of all kinds that added burdens upon undeserving citizens; in fine, cities have been left to the mercies of the lower instincts of humanity, all because everybody has been running away from his task; no one has been prepared to make the sacrifice necessary to bring about a better order of things. The citizen has been as indifferent as the manipulator has been alert. But the better day is here. Peter went back to Rome even at the cost of his life. Rome was worth the sacrifice. To-day the prophet and reformer are doing the same thing. There are a thousand hopeful signs. The labor and sacrifice of good men are beginning to count significantly.

To accentuate the fact of the neglect of municipalities let us contrast the attitude of good men in the seventeenth century with that of men at the beginning of the twentieth. John Bunyan voices accurately the attitude of Christian civilization as he found it. In his immortal allegory he saw in his dream a pilgrim who lived in a city. One day he informed his family: "O, my dear wife," said he, "and you the children of my bowels, I, your dear friend, am in myself undone, by reason of a burden that lieth hard upon me; moreover, I am for

certain informed that this, our city, will be burned with fire from heaven, in which fearful overthrow, both myself, with thee, my wife, and you my sweet babes, shall miserably come to ruin; except (the which yet, I see not) some way of escape can be found, whereby we may be delivered. . . . So I saw in my dream, that the man began to run; now he had not run far from his own door, but his wife and children perceiving it, began to cry after him to return; but the man put his fingers in his ears, and ran on crying, Life, Life, Eternal Life: so he looked not behind him, but fled toward the middle of the plain."

We do not intend to mistake the intent of this beautiful dream, but unconsciously it expresses an attitude which has dominated the religion of the followers of Jesus. This attitude holds to the salvation of the individual as the supreme thing. Cities may go to destruction, but city, wife and child must be abandoned in order to gain entrance to the heavenly city of the future. Civic life, with its particulars of road-making, reservoirs, and sewers, pure milk and transportation, parks and places of recreation, are insignificant interests of the present time. They have no part or parcel in the weightier things of eternal existence. They are perishable and sinful and any one that gives them close attention has not attained to the alti-

tude from which he can discount them and hold them as trivialities, incidental to his pilgrimage toward a better and more heavenly home.

George Eliot shows how this sort of puritanism was of little value in contributing to the betterment of earthly life. In an essay on "Worldliness and Other-Worldliness" she makes a comparison between Edward Young, the author of "Night Thoughts," and William Cowper. The two poets well illustrate the attitude of religious people in the eighteenth century. Young says:

> "Life is the desert, life the solitude;
> Death joins us to the great majority;
> It is to be born to Plato and to Cæsar:
> It is to be great forever:
> It is pleasure, it is ambition, then, to die."

He apostrophizes man in such terms as: "Thou child of dust! Thou speck of misery and sin!" George Eliot says: "Young has no conception of religion as anything else than egoism turned heavenward; and he does not merely imply this, he insists on it. Religion, he tells us in argumentative passages too long to quote, is ambition, pleasure, and love of gain, directed toward the joys of the future life instead of the present. And his ethics correspond to his religion. He vacillates, indeed, in his ethical theory, and shifts his position in order to suit his immediate purpose in argument; but he never

changes his level so as to see beyond the horizon of mere selfishness. Sometimes he insists, as we have seen, that the belief in a future life is the only basis of morality."

In sharp contrast with all this, "What is Cowper's answer, when he imagines some sage erudite, profound, asking him, 'What's the world to you?'—

> 'Much, I was born of woman, and drew milk
> As sweet as charity from human breasts.
> I think, articulate, I laugh and weep.
> And exercise all functions of a man.
> How then should I and any man that lives
> Be strangers to each other?'"

The nineteenth century witnessed the dawning of a new attitude. Religion, on its practical side, was seen to be vitally concerned with humanity, and things of the environment of its life. Religion in that view is none other than the best living possible to human beings. Ideal earthly cities will not in the least discount the idealized joys of a heavenly city. Cleanliness and beauty of environment are not inconsistent with a noble and moral life; nay, rather, we should say they were the absolutely necessary conditions of such life. A theology for the present day is worthless unless it has a sound sociology as a working force. We see it no longer to be our duty to sing, "Earth is a desert drear, heaven is my home." It is our paramount duty

to convert the desert into the garden of the Lord. It is all very well to dream of a heavenly Jerusalem amid the filth and unsanitary conditions of oriental life, but it is given to our western civilization to imitate Prometheus in ascending the heavens and stealing a little of the ideal to plant it on earth.

This indifference in the past of organized religion regarding municipal life has been responsible for much mismanagement, if not for all. Good men have been exhorted to keep away from politics. Such worldly and unrighteous things were for the children of darkness alone. The minister was cautioned not to meddle with matters of municipal government; he had better address himself to the task of saving men from future destruction. But a new impulse is under way. There are a thousand good ministers in each state addressing themselves to the problem of saving men from the gambler's den, the brothel and the saloon. The men and women of the future must be kept without contamination. The municipality may be likened to an organism whose health is conditioned on the health of each cell. If a family be compelled to live amid physical and moral contaminations, six days in the week, these influences will nullify all that the church will do for it on Sunday.

It is an easy, and not the less dangerous, process to generalize concerning the influences

of religion on civic life. They are unquestionably potent. And yet they are so inextricably interwoven with other influences that it is very difficult to isolate them so that we can properly measure them. Already there are many suggestions offered in the new endeavors toward better municipal life under the new impulses felt in religion. The church is now addressing itself more and more to the life that now is. There has been no organization among us that has given such impetus to all noble efforts. The very principles of the founder of Christianity are certainly antagonistic to any form of unrighteous municipal management, despite the fact that the officers of religion have frequently winked at these things. When Jesus spoke, it was about the kingdom of heaven. His words were uttered in pre-scientific days. The world was not large. Men were not called upon to deal with the great aggregates now found in cities. The germ theory of disease had not been discovered. Typhoid fever was taken as the judgment of God; men at that early time could not and we should not expect them to see it was one of those filth diseases for which there is absolutely no plea for its tolerance in modern municipal life.

A city to-day that suffers either from typhoid or cholera ought to be heartily ashamed of itself. How forcibly we saw the bearing of this

remark on the experience of Altona and Hamburg, Germany, in 1892. These neighboring cities are practically one community; the stranger does not know when he passes from one to the other. And yet a superficial dividing line became the line of demarcation for cholera simply for the reason that while both cities used water from the river Elbe, Altona used scientific methods of filtration and Hamburg did not. These things we know to-day. There is now no excuse for typhoid, cholera, tuberculosis, or many other forms of disease in municipal communities. No one can attend church and listen to the words of the founder of Christianity and find in them any excuse for the destruction of human life, from neglect. The principles of Christianity must find application to present conditions through what knowledge we possess.

Theological schools are beginning to see these things. The new minister must be an expert in matters municipal—that is to say, he must possess enough knowledge to stimulate his fellow men to live in the best possible way. A member of a common council once stated to the writer that he did not like to see ministers appear before the council. Their ideals, he thought, were all right, but they did not know what they were talking about. They could not appreciate the difficulties of the problem; they never had any suggestions to make looking toward the solution of

anything that was wrong. They knew much about heaven, but problems of sewerage, saloons and brothels were beyond them. Who is better fitted to deal with the moral life of a city than a minister of religion? We look forward to the day when the splendid work now done by a few faithful and self-sacrificing ministers shall be done by all of them. When this comes about, we shall see a great improvement in municipal life. The church must consider itself the great municipal preserver and the stimulator of its best life.

It would indeed be a superficial survey of the facts of human life and a very careless analysis of religious experience, to seek to prove that any particular division of Christianity had a potency beyond all others in securing for municipal life capable management. Italy to-day is an example of a far-reaching revolution, so far as organized religious forces are concerned. The modernist sees no reason why he cannot be a good catholic and yet accept the results of scientific and philosophical thought. The Catholic who is progressive in social reform is unable to see why he cannot be both a devout Catholic and a good sociologist. Sometimes the Vatican has adopted a policy that seemed to make these attitudes incompatible. Such a policy may have a wisdom yet to be revealed, but, if the intention is to sustain authority to the utmost limit before

yielding, and then to demonstrate that absolute authority is best capable of securing justice and toleration by legalizing developments in theology and sociology when they seem to be inevitable, or on the other hand, to resist at any cost new movements, each method at present will produce an unsatisfactory state of affairs in any country of exalted traditions, fertile soil, energy in resource, creative imagination, virility of thought and progressiveness in its attitude toward social problems. Everywhere church attendance is pitifully depleted, everywhere flaunting and gibes are ready, everywhere it is becoming a habit to cherish skepticism toward the deepest things of life. Do we wonder that, in the present crisis, men are liable to confuse religion with its organized expression?

The religious enthusiast, with a partiality for some particular division of Christianity, might say, what Italy needs is either protestantism, or some particular sect of protestantism; this would regenerate her cities, giving them capable municipal administrations. We are sorry to point out the error in such an attitude. If our religious enthusiast points the finger of scorn at southern Italy and Naples in particular, and charges up the squalor, beggary and degradation of the people to Catholicism, what will he say of the ideal cities of northern Italy—for example Turin and Milan? Naples

is now forging ahead splendidly, and can give points in expert management to the most advanced American city. The municipal administration of Rome is an inspiration. The movement for the housing of the poor, especially that under the management of the "Instituto Romano Di Beni Stabili," has previously been discussed in this work, the genius of it being Edoardo Talamo. Who can fail to feel inspired by a study of the work of Dr. Maria Montessori for the education of children in connection with better housing? She and Talamo have realized that no permanent change can be effected without a foundation of moral and physical education. Dr. Montessori has given a new impulse to primary education. We could speak of accomplishments in road building, city planning, civic art, public buildings, and a thousand other things going on in Catholic countries that would cause the blush to those who pretend that cities under protestantism have attained to better municipal life. Unfortunately for organized religion no particular phase of Christianity ensures a well-governed municipality. When one moves through the splendidly managed cities of Turin, Milan, Geneva, Bern, Zurich, Berlin, Dresden and Leipzig he will come to the conclusion that a predominance either of Catholic or protestant, does not account for cleanliness, sanitation, beauty or progressiveness in a city; some

other social factor is responsible for it. Have not the cities of the United States been plundered by scoundrels, turned over to interests that cared more for their own incomes than for the public weal, made the breeding-places of vice under a predominant protestant form of religion?

The facts which reveal themselves in the history of municipalities are too stubborn to yield consolation to any form of organized Christianity. Must we then say that religion has nothing to do with municipal life? Are we compelled to come to the conclusion that, so far as municipal life is concerned, we might as well have irreligion? Not at all. This would be a hasty, an unwarranted conclusion. Municipal life is only an expression of what a people are, or have been, from generation to generation. Like people, like cities. The cities of Christendom, or of any other countries, are precisely what the temper and atmosphere of their life have made them. Cities should be studied to show the connection between religious ideas which have prevailed through centuries, and the particular modes of life we now find in them.

Such a study would reveal vital connections. Wherever religion has been virile, wherever it has conceived of its mission as being supreme love for man, the betterment of the race, the elevation of the citizen through education, in

fine, all that is included in loving one's neighbor as oneself; wherever these ideals have prevailed even in a fragmentary way, one discovers the best civic life. It makes very little difference under what system of organized religion these ideals are cultivated. They will prevail, either because of an organized form of religion, or in spite of it. We may give credit for results from such ideals to Catholicism or protestantism, or to neither. It is almost a platitude to say that consciousness of a social ideal and of all that this means in the concern of the individual for the whole, is the one essential of municipal progress. This is a religious ideal that must come out of the human heart. It is what religious organizations of all sorts try to label for their own show windows and take credit for. Organization is a sequence of religious fact, not the cause of it, it is the incident in the onward progress of the social group and not at all essential to it.

On these broad lines, we can see how essential is religion to municipal life. When the individual conceives it to be his duty to live for the whole, when both the individual and lesser groups of individuals are always ready to sacrifice self-interest to public weal—that is to say when they are prepared to subjugate pleasures, possessions, prejudices, powers and preferences to the public good, then and not until then shall

we have ideally governed municipalities. This sort of attitude will enable us to utilize the scientific knowledge we possess for the benefit of citizens; but all our knowledge will be of no effect unless great impulses and principles are incorporated into conduct.

One of the very weak points of organized religion has been that it has exalted organization at the expense of great formative principles. The church, making itself unsocial, has sinned against the municipality. It has been more concerned with its particular organization, than with the public weal. In this way it has made of itself a little group differentiating itself from all other organizations, and even setting itself in antagonism to them by ecclesiastical arrogance, as if it regarded itself as something unique and over against citizenship denominated, as if in disdain, "the world." In spite of this attitude, however, it has done some splendid sociological work. It has sent missionaries into the slums; it has labored for fallen woman and profligate man; it has frequently minimized the ravages of disease. But it has done all this from an impulse of its own particularism. It has always done it *propter hoc*. It has been regulated by the impulses of good Samaritanism. After the man has fallen among thieves, it has hurried to the rescue.

This method, in the light of present-day knowledge, is unsocial. Why wait for a remedy when a prevention is possible? Why not make good Samaritanism defunct? The scientific sociological method at present is to see to it that the road between Jerusalem and Jericho be properly policed and lighted and above all to do something for those misguided and unsocial thieves that maimed and despoiled their brother. A thousand sermons will call attention to the goodness of the Samaritan and the wickedness of the thieves, but how few will ask that something be done for the robbers? Do they also not need oil and wine? What has produced them? Is not neglect, to a large measure, responsible for their being thieves? Can we not see in the attitude of ecclesiasts connected with the incident of the man fallen among thieves, a primary force in the manufacture of the thief? In their unsocial conduct they went by on the other side. Was not this most unsocial? Has not the church been most unsocial? We think it has, but the day of the socialization of the church is approaching. It will soon be more concerned with earthly than with the heavenly Jerusalem. Church buildings, services and ministers before the end of the century will, we trust, be put at the service of the municipality. Then we shall have better cities. Then and not

till then shall graft disappear. Then the individual, by being thoroughly socialized, will become completely religionized.

Enough has been said to show that the dynamic of true civics in the end must be an abiding love for humanity. With this the church can revolutionize both its teaching and its practise, and those who have the interests of the municipality at heart can avoid ameliorative measures which take in the short ranges of an administration, or the shift which postpones the fundamental treatment of mismanagement in a particular direction. This dynamic will enable us to take account of the future as well as of the present. It will enable us to see that the citizen must be trained with the distinct purpose of taking his part in the life of the community. The moral side of the human being shall not be neglected in the assumed interest of his intellectual nature. To train the citizen thoroughly to know that it will be an injury to the city to have him steal the goods of his fellow man, or to deal in falsehoods of any kind, or to violate sexual virtue, are more important for the welfare of the individual and the community than to teach him algebra, geometry or Greek. Not that we discourage mental training; the citizen needs all he can procure. But moral training is of paramount importance and should not be neglected.

It is full time to acknowledge to ourselves that there is nothing of more importance from the municipal view-point than the training of the citizen to take part in the family. What is of more importance to the welfare of the city or the country than family life? And yet we are sending boys and girls forth into the world to establish families, while totally ignorant of some of the simplest concerns of the relation of the sexes. We have treated this matter in another chapter. We touch upon it here to show that the dynamic of the love of humanity will compel us to change our methods of education for the benefit of future generations. Love for man to become a potent municipal factor must be prophetic. We must love the future citizen to such an extent that we shall throw all the forces of education and morality around him, so that he will not become a curse to himself and society.

A religious dynamic of this sort would consecrate all scientific effort for municipal betterment, cure all our corruption and convert all ameliorative forces into preventative means. It would be seen that it is wrong to deny the citizen the fresh air and sunshine that he needs, wrong to deprive him of pure water and milk, wrong to contaminate the air he breathes with the smoke of a thousand factories, wrong to deprive him of the means of healthy play in all

stages of his life, wrong to place his life among unesthetic surroundings which breed pessimism and immorality, wrong to compel him to secure the only relief from daily monotony in the brightness and genial surroundings of the saloon and brothel, wrong to allow human sharks to prey upon his ignorance and love of gambling and deprive him of a large part of his wage so much needed for his family, wrong to compel him to pay an exorbitant price for transportation, gas and electricity, wrong to sell tainted fruit and meat, wrong to subject beautiful young girls to the mercy of procuresses and the white slave trafficker, wrong to use the city for political purposes rather than to concentrate all the energies of managers upon the good of the community, wrong to give away the use of the streets in unlimited franchises for the benefit of corporations which are not rendering an equivalent to the community. In other words, when the full import of what religion really means, when it inculcates love for humanity, we shall see an era of municipal administration in accordance with the enlightened scientific knowledge of the time, honest and capable, in which each official and each citizen shall live for the good of all the citizens all the time.

CHAPTER XV

THE SOCIAL EVIL

SCHOPENHAUER, in his great work, "The World as Will and Idea," [1] gives an expert discussion of the metaphysics of the love of the sexes. His contention is that all love, however exalted it may appear in poetry, romance, drama and even in the estimation of the individual, is nevertheless "rooted in the sexual impulse alone." Or to state Schopenhauer's position from a profounder viewpoint, sexual impulses are grounded in the constitution of the universe. The fundamental principle at the basis of all things is an irrational will-power. This expresses or individualizes itself in man and woman. But previous to and independent of its expression in any individual, there is a will to live. The human species must be continued indefinitely. The future man is always assured. His forthcoming is eternally dictated by the deep-lying will of the universe. The will of the world proposes, willy-nilly, to live through in-

[1] The World as Will and Idea. By Arthur Schopenhauer. Vol. III, pp. 336-375.

dividual men and women; they are and must be its expression.

This accounts for the great tragedies of love, for the irrationality it causes, making fools of even the wisest, and the irresistible potency of its sway. The individual, however, thinks all is under his control. Does he not choose the object of his love? Has he not fallen in love because the loved one pleased him; because her charming beauty, her culture and refinement, captivated his soul? Did he not yield himself a willing slave to her charms? All very true, thinks Schopenhauer. But all this is pure illusion. The individual in the case is a mere puppet. The will of the universe pulls the strings and he obeys; he could not do otherwise. He is carrying out the behest of a power over which he has no control. Superficially, he is in love because of his individual choice; fundamentally, he is in love because his preference individualizes the preference of the will of the universe. This is exactly the thought which Defoe voices through Robinson Crusoe. During reflections, Crusoe would realize how foolish his behavior was in constantly running to sea and subjecting himself to endless privation and misery, when he might be living in ease and comfort if he had only abandoned his roaming instincts. After all Crusoe thought it useless to rebel; for, while we control the surface ripples of life, the

deep undercurrents are not amenable to our wills. So it is with the lover, thinks Schopenhauer. His love is the mask; back of the mask is the desire of the eternal will to live in humanity. When he thinks he is serving himself, he is serving the species. When he sighs, it is the spirit of the species sighing through him. To this express end is the lover used, and when he enters the sexual relation he is serving the universe in the best possible way. This is why love so often violates human conventions. The Great Will pays no respect to our little conventionalities. It wills life absolutely and for all times, and when it exhibits itself in sexual relations it has endless generations in view.

We shall here deal strictly with prostitution, a word which is best defined as "promiscuous unchastity for gain." In common with all sexual intercourse, the primary cause of prostitution lies in the deep-seated instinct of reproduction. Schopenhauer, from the metaphysical side, places this instinct in the constitution of nature itself. It is the will to live, a determination to prolong the species. Thus it is universal, existing independent of the individual, not guided at all by reason, simply blind and irrational will. But this deep-seated instinct uses the individual for its ends. It manifests itself in him as an impulse for reproduction. It will be seen then that the interests of the species are

supreme in the sexual instincts. And the primary cause of prostitution is that the individual insists upon satisfying the impulse for reproduction, irrespective of the true interests of the species. It is essentially a form of supreme selfishness, for it endangers the public health and morals.

But, from the view-point of impelling instinct, as distinguished from results, the prevalence of prostitution in spite of all attempts to check it, especially under Christian civilization, shows the imperiousness of the instinct and a total disregard of selfish ends in the individual, for he is prepared to suffer the worst forms of disease in order to satisfy the sexual demand. No careful student of the subject can for a moment close his eyes to such widespread facts, even though he may reject the metaphysics of Schopenhauer, yet in the purest state of civilization at least there is a great deal that is irrational in connection with the exercise of the sexual impulses. It would check all our attempts at municipal reform, however, if we were persuaded that, for civilized man, all love consisted merely in sexual satisfaction.

Such a view reduces to pure animalism, an instrumentality which, having its deep basis here in the social progress of the race and its advancement in the ideals of the spiritual life,

is one of the noblest refining and civilizing forces of humanity. Evolution traces very successfully the basis of man's life to animalism, but the progress of the race is toward an idealism in art, literature, religion, science and philosophy, which places him on a plane, in which he has outstripped his animalism and of which animalism alone cannot give an exhaustive account. In other words, the mere reproduction of the species is not the sole intent of the sexual instinct and relation. The spirit of the species is undoubtedly sighing through them, but there are also the spirit of the family, municipality and nation, the spirit of all the fine human emotions, sentiments and passions, the spirit which produces intellectual capacities, moral and spiritual longings, hopes and aspirations.

Prostitution arises primarily from satisfaction of the individual instinct of reproduction at the cost of the species. The imperfection of the evolutionary process is an important fact. In the march from the beast to the angel there is a very long stretch. It takes many generations to eliminate the tiger. The continuance of the barbarism of war to settle international disputes is a case in point. One of the main causes of prostitution arises from the fact that men, who, as a rule, are more promiscuous than women, obey the elements of animalism, which

are not yet in subjection to the higher nature.

Lack of ethical training and of proper grounding in ethical estimates of life is, we are confident, main causes of the deplorable and widespread social evil. We refer more particularly to such training with reference to the relation of the sexes. It has been the habit in Christian homes to say nothing of these matters. The awakening of the sexual impulse at puberty creates a curiosity which seeks to satisfy itself in a thousand ways. Children grow to young men and women, and go wrong frequently because of ignorance of the consequence of their acts. They are left in the dark about procreation and venereal diseases.

There are economic causes for prostitution which are pretty deeply seated in our present system. We must take note of the inability of a large number of men to enter the marital relation, because they are not earning enough to maintain a family. These men, to satisfy their sexual appetites, become frequenters of houses of prostitution.

But by far the greatest danger from economic causes, comes from the inadequacy of the wages paid to young women, who sustain themselves by working as clerks, stenographers and in other occupations open to women. These girls are led to sell their virtue at first to eke out a living and finally abandon themselves to

prostitution.[1] We do not refer to the peculiar accidental temptation to which a young woman is subjected, such as danger to her virtue from employers, associates and others, but to the all too patent fact that she is not earning enough money to support herself in a decent way, to say nothing of supplying herself with the pretty things which are so attractive to young girls.

Bad housing conditions contribute very largely to prostitution. The huddling of families together in unsanitary localities, surrounded by innumerable temptations, living in rooms without sufficient space, light and air, compelled to use in common the conveniences of bath-tubs and water-closets, and under such general conditions as to render privacy impossible, make easy the pathway to sexual irregularity and prostitution. Where the privacies and delicacies of life are made impossible by the very nature of the conditions of life, what can be expected but a downward movement on the part of children brought up in such surroundings? Vice under such conditions becomes a logical and almost a necessary consequence.

Many of our social arrangements become contributory to prostitution! Soldiers and

[1] On this subject, as well as for a careful study of the social evil in Chicago, see the illuminating report of the Vice Commission on the social evil in that city, published in 1911.

sailors are notorious frequenters of houses of prostitution. Enforced celibacy of any sort contributes to this end.

There are abnormal conditions, of course, too numerous for classification, which become contributory to the vice. Abnormal sexual development occurs in both man and woman. The seduction and violation of young girls by relatives, guardians, married men, etc., often start them on careers of vice. All such cases of physical and moral degeneracy come under the category of criminal affairs.

The appearance anywhere of prostitution as a commercialized business tends to perpetuate the evil. The prostitute pushes her nefarious trade because she can make a living easier and better in this than in any other way. The keeper of a brothel finds it a lucrative business. The cadet, panderer, and white slave dealer all find this business fascinating from the purely business view-point. It yields a net revenue in the city of Chicago alone of about fifteen million dollars a year. This will give a suggestion of the extent of the business done throughout the United States, to say nothing of Europe and other parts of the world. All the agencies of such business are interested in the stimulation of trade. What do these human vipers care for the souls and bodies of beautiful young women, whom they entice into the lairs of vice

and keep enslaved there through moral, economic and physical causes? It is merely business with them. The more fascinating the young girl, the better drawing card she is for trade. In other words, the prosperity of this type of business is in direct ratio to the degradation of the victims.

The country is scoured for new victims. These paid agents comb very carefully parks, department stores and railroad trains all over the country for fresh supplies of young life to be sacrificed to lust.

The presence in any city of prostitutes under a commercialized system is a menace to the well-being of the community, for it is to the interest of all concerned that trade shall be stimulated. The drink traffic in saloons becomes an important contributory element to prostitution. As showing their natural alliance, they are frequently conducted together. The saloon habit leads to the bawdy house. Indeed, dance-hall annexes to saloons are very important contributors to the evil. And even public dance-halls not directly connected with saloons where drinks are sold, contribute to the trade by giving an opportunity for the prostitute and cadet to obtain new victims. Frequently the rear rooms of saloons are used by immoral women in soliciting men to buy drinks for them, the inflated prices charged for drinks yielding an enormous

profit to the saloon-keeper. It is his profit that induces the saloon-keeper to encourage prostitution. Often there is a vaudeville performance where women exhibit parts of their bodies and where perverts and prostitutes use obscene and suggestive language. The heavy profit stimulates prostitution, first by attaching it to the saloon, and secondly, by enabling the saloon-keeper to pay for protection from the police, and if one of the women is arrested to enable him to bail her out and even pay the fine.

Extremes in the life-occupations of women become contributing causes. Young women kept in idleness are naturally led into this life by the desire for excitement, entertainment and fuller life experience, even in those in whom the sexual impulse is normal. Those who are subjected to a life of hopeless drudgery wish to escape it by embracing a life of ease. The larger number of prostitutes are drawn from the lower classes, where this cause prevails. And of course it must be added that in these young women the inner life is at a low ebb. They cannot draw on the resources of the inner life for their entertainment; books are meaningless to them. Prostitution offers them plenty of money, freedom from drudgery, endless risks and excitements, a variety of life, dull and monotonous as it may seem to a more developed ethical and intellectual nature, yet, in contrast

with the ordinary life from which the prostitute for the most part escapes, rich and satisfying.

The relation of the social evil to the police force is an important feature of the problem. The laws on the statute books are far ahead of public opinion from the ethical view-point and impracticable in their application to actual conditions. Prostitution, so far as the law is concerned, in all civilized countries, is merely tolerated. Under all conditions it is a violation of the law. These laws come into existence in very interesting ways. In the United States large numbers of legislators have never had experience with the larger cities, where prostitution mostly prevails. Even those who know these cities bend to the pressure of the ethical and religious forces of the state, which indeed is splendid in its impulses, but miserably impotent in its insight into human nature and its intelligence with respect to the wisest administrative measures respecting vice.

Yielding to the demand of no compromise at all, they proceed to enact laws demanding perfect obedience in a sphere where never as yet has been even a pretension of observance, so far as the evil itself is concerned. Laws dealing with vice are a mockery in our Christian civilization. They are the embodiment of hypocrisy. They make good reading; they satisfy the pious and prudish and are the glory

of ethical life, so far as putting things on paper is concerned, but they are not, and never were or can be, obeyed under the present demands of public opinion. Instead of attempting rational measures, attempting what in the nature of the case can be done, as for example, divorcing completely the liquor traffic from the business of prostitution, our laws demand what is impossible—complete non-existence of prostitution—and nothing whatever is accomplished. Public opinion does not demand the suppression of vice.

It is this situation that complicates the subject, so far as the police force is concerned. With people indifferent to the evil so long as it does not touch them, with a consciousness of weakness in most people that makes them charitable toward others, with a feeling that we have always had it with us and always shall have it on the one hand and impracticable laws demanding perfection on the other, what can a chief of police do? The testimony of William McAdoo, who has had much practical experience as a chief of police, is worth considering. McAdoo is of opinion that segregation is necessary, in order to enable the police to perform their duty. He says:

"Religious people especially have always opposed the licensing or segregation of vice. . . . . There is apparently no use to argue from any

given facts, so far as this element is concerned. The thing is wrong from their point of view, and there can be no compromise with it. That it exists, has existed, and will exist, is apparently a fact not to be recognized by them. It is foreign, however, to my purpose to argue on the practicability or ethics of license or prohibition with regard to either vice or the sale of liquors. This can be said: That where there is neither license nor segregation by common consent, nor permission to sell within certain hours and on prohibited days, there is very apt to be collusion between the police and those who break the law."

He quotes the example of Washington, D. C., where the social evil is confined to a certain quarter of the city by custom. This place is known by every one and avoided by all who wish to live a life above suspicion. There is no attempt on the part of the police to blackmail women. Street-walking is unknown. This is the only solution, therefore, that McAdoo offers to this grave problem: We must always have it; therefore, let us confine it to a certain quarter of the city.

Mr. McAdoo would accentuate the point we are trying to make, viz.: that the imperfection and impracticability of our laws, making everything pertaining to prostitution illegal, and the present state of public opinion, force a col-

lusion between the forces of vice and the police. It throws the burden of practicable legislation on the chief of police, who endeavors to frame a few regulations that his officers will be able to enforce, there being nothing in the law of the municipalities that can be enforced. But the use of discretionary power on the part of the chief of police percolates down through the captains and officers. They also learn how to use their discretion. Keepers of houses of prostitution also know this. They do not open business on a considerable scale anywhere, without coming to terms of protection with the officers.

Something surely should be learned from history. Prostitution is a very ancient institution. It appears among all nations. At different times it has been an institution of the state, municipality, religion and university. Almost every civilized nation has tried the method of indifference until the danger of profligacy threatened the very foundations of the state. Then the most stringent methods were adopted. Both have had very little success. In Puritan England "Bawds were condemned to be whipped, pilloried, branded and imprisoned for three years," but modern England suffers as much from the vice as any civilized country. No scheme yet devised seems able to extirpate this evil. Even with our actual knowledge of the nature of syphilis, gonorrhea and soft chancre,

their dire effects on the system, and the contamination of innocent wives and children of profligate men, there seems to be no abatement in the business of prostitution. All the great cities of Christendom are as much under the spell of this institution as any cities have ever been in the history of the world. It persists in spite of and baffling all legislation, all the stringency of police regulation, and all the dangers of fearful and loathsome venereal diseases. An authority like Dr. Arthur Shadwell comes to the following conclusion:

"A general view of the whole subject suggests no pleasant or hopeful conclusions. Prostitution appears to be inseparable from human society in large communities. In different countries and ages it has in turn been patronized and prohibited, ignored and recognized, tolerated and condemned, regulated and let alone, flaunted and concealed. Christianity, the greatest moral force in the history of mankind, has repeatedly and systematically attacked it with a scourge in one hand and balm in the other, but the effect has been trifling or transient. Nor have all the social and administrative resources of modern civilization availed to exercise an effective control. The elementary laws on which prostitution rests are stronger than the artificial codes imposed by moral teaching, conventional standards or legislatures, and

attempts at repression lead only to a change of form, not of substances. It survives all treatment, and though it may coexist with national vigor, its extravagant development is one of the signs of a rotten and decaying civilization."[1]

Another authority contends that "sexual intercourse is an imperious necessity, implanted in our nature, for the gratification of which man will brave any danger however great to health and even life. Whether descended from the ape or created in the image of his Maker, he is still an animal, who, but for the humanizing influence of civilization and Christianity, would be more savage and degraded than the wildest beast of the forest. If this postulate be admitted, it requires no argument to prove that prostitution is an essential necessity of society."[2]

Lecky, the historian, delivers an apostrophe to the harlot: "Herself the supreme type of vice, she is ultimately the most efficient guardian of virtue. But for her, the unchallenged purity of countless homes would be polluted, and not a few who, in the pride of their untempted chastity, think of her with an indignant shudder, would have known the agony of remorse and of despair. On that one degraded and noble form are concentrated the passions that might

[1] Encyc. Brit., 11th Ed., Vol. XXII, p. 463.
[2] Professor Gross in an address in Philadelphia in 1874.

have filled the world with shame. She remains while creeds and civilizations rise and fall, the eternal priestess of humanity, blasted for the sins of the people." [1]

Over against these attitudes is that of Worlomont: "If all nations were more fully penetrated with a sense of the duties which the protection of health and public morality imposes, and would agree by common consent to make mutual concessions for the purpose of instituting measures of general security, we should slowly see this plague, disastrous as it is for the whole human race, disappear from the list of human calamities." [2]

Dr. Mauriac, in his pamphlet, "Rarete actuelle du Chancre simple," says: "Soft chancre is a disgrace to our civilization. Have we not the power of destroying it as we destroy vermin, and all parasitic diseases which lodge in the skin? Yes, I am convinced that it will be made to disappear whenever society will seriously take the trouble to make it cease."

As a problem in the health of the municipality, it is just as much our duty to prevent and get rid of syphilis, gonorrhea and soft chancre as it is to get rid of and prevent typhoid, tuberculosis or other communicable dis-

[1] European Morals, Vol. II, p. 299.

[2] Address at International Conference in Brussels in 1875.

eases. The proper basis for dealing with the problem legally is from the view-point of the public health of municipalities. When England passed an act in 1864 for the prevention of contagious diseases, it was a move in the right direction. We are not now discussing the merits or efficacy of this act, but are simply indicating the methods of approach. Prostitution has been treated too much as a matter for the police. It is much more of a problem than that of public order. The extent of this can be faintly realized if we think of a city like Chicago. Five thousand prostitutes are reported for this city. In an examination of the books of a certain house, it was shown that each woman had sexual intercourse with an average of seventeen men each day. If this were true for the 5,000 prostitutes, 85,000 men would come into contact with prostitutes daily. Assuming that only one in four of these prostitutes suffered from venereal diseases, 21,250 men would be exposed to them in a single day in Chicago. Reducing this number to the lowest minimum, if even 1,000 men or only a few hundred are affected daily, it can be seen how great a damage is wrought to the body social by the introduction into it of the virus of a venereal disease. This is surely a problem of municipal health and municipal morals.

The inadequacy of present systems of treat-

ing prostitution is apparent to any student of municipal life. The severe puritanic method proved a failure, in so far as rooting out the evil was concerned. Such methods were adopted as a result of the Protestant Reformation. Licensed prostitution was forbidden pretty much over the whole of Europe in the sixteenth century. In the seventeenth century also "great severity was shown. In 1865 an edict was issued in Paris condemning men concerned in the traffic to the galleys for life; women and girls to be whipped, shaved and banished for life, without formal trial." Similar severity was manifested in England during the same period. These relentless measures have usually had the effect of driving the evil to greater extremes the moment the pressure was removed.

The *laissez faire* method is just as ineffective. This was the attitude in England during the early part of the nineteenth century, and up to about 1864. Every civilized country, willy-nilly, has been compelled to pay some attention to this institution. Left to itself, allowed to carry on its nefarious soul and body-destroying trade, prostitution would soon become an abomination even to the uncultivated, and the preservation of peace and order would become practicably impossible. England found at length that something had to be done.

The *laissez faire* attitude has characterized

much of our treatment of the subject in the United States. In municipalities there has been a pretty universal custom of passing most excellent and stringent laws on the subject, declaring it illegal and disorderly. It generally exists by toleration. It comports with the Christian conscience to pass a law that will be in accord with the purest Christian ethics conceivable, although law-makers know full well that, under present conditions, prostitution prevails everywhere. There seems to be much consolation derived from this very hypocrisy. We are calling attention to it again to show its utter inadequacy to solve the problem. With absolutely no provision made for its regulation, the chief of police is compelled to frame regulations for the guidance of officers. He is compelled to study the chief resorts of prostitutes, for this traffic, like all other business, has a tendency to settle in that part of the city which is most congenial to it. The wisdom of the commissioner or chief of police may dictate a circumscribed area within which he desires most of the notorious prostitutes to live. He finds usually that, even with a designated place for the most marked features of prostitution, it is beyond his control; but without such a place he can do nothing with it and simply allows it to infest the city in every quarter as well as occupy certain haunts. The difference, so far as desig-

nating a particular area of the city, is that he can confine most of it, whereas in a scheme of no designation, a larger proportion of it will be found outside its favorite haunts.

The failure of this *laissez faire* method is shown by the presence in all cities of the United States of this evil. A change of administration makes a difference of course. One mayor or chief of police will have an "open town," another a less open one. But we have not managed to banish prostitution. One commissioner adopts one set of rules and his successor another. Meanwhile the business flourishes and White Slavery is becoming tremendously profitable and well organized.

The French system of licensing and registering with strict regulation has been extensively tried in continental Europe. In the abstract, it would seem that a system of this sort would by all odds be the most successful. It commends itself most readily to those who have given little attention to the subject. Very frequently we have heard people say, "The only successful way to handle this institution is the way they do it in Europe." On the face of it, what could be better than to compel all prostitutes to be registered, so that the police might know exactly who the prostitutes are and how to find them. With the house itself and the inmates registered, police surveillance could surely be carried

to the point of perfection. And where a house is not registered, the *filles isolées* would be. Could any better scheme be devised? In addition to this, there would be frequent examinations of women. What a protection to society! In spite of prostitution therefore we could successfully protect society from the virus of *syphilis, gonorrhea and soft chancre!*

Now what are the facts relating to these *Maisons de Tolerance?* Has the system of registration produced a respectable and law-abiding institution? Alphonse Esquiros, in "Les Vierges Folles," says, "Si vous voulez savoir ce qu'est maison si doucement nominée, je vous dirai que c'est un endroit infect, qui a l'odeur du vice, un repaire tenebreux, profond, irreparable—une fois la femme est entrée, là il lui faut dire adieu au ciel, a la liberté, a l'honneur, et au monde" ("If you would know what this house so sweetly named [*Maison de tolerance*] is, I should say to you that it is a place of infection, which has the odor of vice, a gloomy, low, irreparable den—once a woman enters it she must say goodby to heaven, liberty, honor and the world").

As to the dames who conduct such places, Acton states: "The *dames de Maison* are, of course, a vicious and, as a general rule, ferocious, mercenary band, tyrannizing over the unfortunate harlots who form their stock in trade, and

abjectly crouching before the inspector, the surgeon and the mouchard. The possession of a house of this kind is the highest aspiration of the prostitute." A house of this sort legalized by the municipality acquires a stable marketable value. Thousands of dollars are frequently paid for one, and the dame conducting it can afford to retire in a comparatively short time.

The harlot, of course, becomes the tool of the mercenary impulses of the dame, as well as the slave of the public. So long as she is sought after, the mistress is very kind and obsequious. She is treated to theaters and concerts. But the moment she becomes unpopular and loses her charm, she is brutally turned out of doors and frequently with but little to cover her nakedness.

In connection with this trade under the French system, not only does the business become a financial asset, but it becomes a legitimate and honorable trade. In the work of Dr. Parent Duchatelet there is a chapter on "Des Dames ou Maîtress de Maison" in which the following letters appear. They are copies of letters of application for licenses to open houses of ill-fame.

"M. le Prefet:

"I have only you as a resource to lean upon; burdened with a family of tender years, I implore you not to refuse

me an honest means of livelihood and of bringing up my children. Deprive me not, M. le Prefet, of a consolation of which an afflicted mother stands in so great need."

"M. le Prefet:

"Madlle. D. has the honor to explain to you the cruel reverses of fortune that would have driven her to the final act of despair, if she had not been restrained by a sentiment of religion from parting with that which comes from above. Her grave and circumspect conduct, the care she has taken of her father and mother and that she lavishes on her children, have won for her the esteem and consideration of all the better class of people; being unable to bring herself to work, she desires to be authorized to receive at her house six women, etc."

Under the strictest methods of registration and examination it is impossible to get all prostitutes to register. And even if they were all registered, prevention of venereal diseases through such a system would be impossible. Statistics on the subject will amply confirm this. In 1873, in Paris, at a time the law was very strictly enforced, there were 12,392 registered prostitutes and 3,719 who were not registered. The investigation of Alfred Fournier showed that out of 367 cases of syphilis 234 came from registered women and 133 from those who were not registered. M. Puche's investigation about the same time gave the following result: Of 510 cases of syphilis 374 came from registered and 136 from unregistered women. Registration is no guarantee against disease.

But suppose the examination succeeded in keeping the prostitutes free from syphilis, gonorrhea and soft chancre, which in the light of our present knowledge is practically impossible, what would be the result? Simply to declare to the public that the prostitute is free from disease and can be visited without danger. No municipality should be an abettor of such a crime against the state and humanity. The sterility which prostitution breeds is not valuable to any state. A municipality should not take the risk of declaring woman usable when present knowledge indicates the gravest risks in tampering with these awful diseases. A municipal examination thus becomes a direct attack upon the home, endangering the health of pure wives and unborn children. This is why the mayor of Rome [1] discontinued the method of examination in that city and threw the responsibility of going to such places upon the citizen himself. "But," said this splendid man, "I wish you would tell me what to do with prostitution!"

The machinery of examination is liable also to have a degrading effect on the women. Their frequent visitations to hospitals, where alone such examinations can be thoroughly conducted, has a tendency to create an unpleasant moral odor in the hospital itself and its vicinity. The women gain a sense of self-importance. Both

[1] Ernesto Nathan.

in London and Paris they call themselves "government women," as distinguished from the ordinary unregistered harlot.

The machinery of registration is sometimes badly managed. A woman fallen but once is frequently compelled to become registered and thus join the hopeless class, whereas otherwise she might desist from following such a career.

No system yet devised has been able to stamp out this evil. It is a very potent factor in every civilized country to-day. It flourishes as much under Christianity as it did under paganism. It is therefore apparent to any one who believes the evil can be eradicated, that the schemes already tried are inadequate for this purpose. Indeed, it is rather a reflection upon the kind of ethics that the Christian religion has fostered, that, with all our boasted purity of life, it has left no impression on the institution of prostitution. Some authorities contend that vice is increasing in Christian lands. It at any rate is not decreasing. It is difficult to establish a general statement like the following: "There are credible statistics to show that one-half the population of civilized countries have had or have gonorrhea, and from one-fifth to one-tenth have had syphilis." This gives rise to the appalling thought that every other person one meets on the street is gonorrheic and every fifth person syphilitic. Such a sweeping generalization has

enough basis in fact to give it a startling plausibility. A glance at the vice reports of New York and Chicago will at once convince a person that millions of our fellow men are affected each year.

What will the Christian church do about it? What is the Christian church doing about it? Evidently it is helpless to stop it. Prostitutes are recruited from homes in our Christian civilization. America has nothing to learn from Europe, for here we have not only prostitution, but all its ghastly accompaniments of sex perversion. Europe has nothing to learn from America, for she has practised all forms of the vice, from the "shrines of Venus" and the ignominies of Pompeii, to the sexual exhibits and debaucheries of Paris and London. Christian civilization has nothing to learn from paganism, for the latter never had anything which does not have its analogy in our civilization. In the schemings of the White Slave traffic, the stupendous commercialization of prostitution, its business and political influence, we have much to teach a less innocent paganism.

Excuses and extenuating circumstances there are in plenty, of course. If it be true that brothels in the Borough, near London Bridge, were originally licensed by the bishops of Winchester,[1] it was at a time when our ethical stand-

[1] Encyc. Brit., 11th Ed., Vol. XXII, p. 459.

ards were lower and knowledge of the germ theory had not dawned upon the world. During the Reformation and since, the Christian church, so far as form and ideal are concerned, has been against prostitution. No longer does any university accept the profits of prostitution, as once did Toulouse; no longer do municipalities conduct places of public prostitution, except it might be said that municipal corruptionists do so in the form of an open town for purposes of graft and votes. Some things have been accomplished. But the evil is here, both in Europe and America in countries under the influence of a dominant Christianity. There has been no systematic training by the church in Sunday-school or otherwise in the hygiene and morality of the sexual relation. The church has condemned all unrighteousness in general terms, but in dealing with this particular subject it has been sorely negligent. While saying this, we are aware of the rescue work done by many Christian organizations and individuals. We would not minimize it for the world. Our contention is that the church, which is the greatest ethical force in our civilization, through neglect of proper ethical training in sexual relationship and a taboo treatment of this most vital subject to our civilization and the welfare of humanity, is largely responsible for the strength of the institution of prostitution among

us. The subject cannot be mentioned in the pulpit and Sunday-school of respectable churches. Members of these churches for most part would not think of mentioning it to their children. The mission church in the slums might take up such matters of course, and does. But denizens of the houses of prostitution are not confined to the slums. A large proportion of the patrons come from good Catholic and Protestant homes. They have attended Sunday-schools. They are members of Christian homes. The church must awaken to responsibility. Prostitution is among us. We must throw off our lethargy. We must make an attempt at least to remedy the evil. We must attack the problem with educational, scientific and humane methods. Puritanism tried it and failed —failed just because it used none of these methods. We may not succeed. We certainly cannot injure matters if we make the attempt rationally. At any rate, things cannot be much worse than they are; and they are what they are, to a large extent because of an utter ignoring of the whole subject, from the viewpoint of systematic effort by the church.

The question of eradicating the social evil resolves itself into two parts. First, what measures can be taken looking toward the gradual elimination of the social evil, so that the time may come when the evil itself and all its phys-

ical and moral consequences shall vanish from human society. Second, what can be done now to improve the situation? How can prostitution be minimized? How can some of its grossest evils be lessened? How can we preserve the decency of the community and the purity of the home, in so far as this is possible under present conditions with prostitution a factor and a potent factor in every city of any size in Christendom? The two questions are very closely related; yet we think they indicate clearly the line of action.

We shall take up the second question first. Prostitution is an institution which, having its roots in history as far back as we can go, has come as a heritage like many other evils in our own time and seems as vigorous to-day as ever. Promiscuous unchastity for gain is what we must fasten our attention upon. We must not forget the economic aspect to it. It is, and always has been, a very profitable business. Its promoters get rich. They do not stint with money. Every one connected with them is well paid. This is and must be under present conditions a part of the game. They pay higher rents; their protection price to the police is generous. These charges and similar ones are a part of the business.

But every dollar of the annual fifteen millions of net profits from the business in Chicago is

the price paid for the virtue of women. The unfortunate woman sacrifices herself to accumulate the business profits of white-slave dealers and the keepers of these houses. These human vipers are in the business, it goes without saying, for gain. But the harlot herself is also where she is for gain. Even where there are cases, and no doubt there are many, of oversexed and depraved women, yet they would not be in the business were it not for the element of gain. Unquestionably the majority are enticed into this life because of the pecuniary advantages it offers. The accidents need not concern us. To inquire whether a woman became a prostitute to get money to buy new clothes, or to make a living easier, is subsidiary to the main purpose—gain. Or put the matter in a more conservative way and let it be granted that a certain fraction of the women are in the business on account of being oversexed, or because the *goût d'homme* is not subjected to the control of rational processes, still the larger proportion enter it and remain in it for gain.

It is true, of course, that there are young women who would rather die than give up their virtue for any consideration. It is also true that a large number of prostitutes, once they have entered this life, have no desire to leave it. Here, of course, many considerations enter into the case. But, on the other hand, there is a

large class of young women, who would never have entered this life at all, were it not that the pittance they earn as clerks and in other spheres of employment for women was so pitifully inadequate to buy the necessaries of life. It is about time for us to take up this matter very seriously. Is it right to allow any one to employ women, to whom a living wage is not paid? Poverty unquestionably is one of the main arteries of prostitution.

The economic side has many ramifications. A very large number of people benefit financially from prostitution. The owner of property and the real estate agent are partners in the game of vice. The law here should be very stringent and enforced to the letter. The owner or agent who rents any property to be used for immoral purposes should be very heavily fined.

But the fundamental economic fact is that we should bend our energy to the improvement of the wages paid young women. No one should be allowed to employ a young woman unless he pays enough to enable her to live in a decent way.

The greatest reform in present conditions would be affected by an absolute separation of the liquor traffic from prostitution. To do this effectively of course we must clean out slums. Slumless cities are within the range of possibility. Then the business of prostitution

should be confined, as far as possible, to a particular district and absolutely no liquor of any kind sold in this section. Just here, of course, the saloon, with back or upstair rooms for prostitution, is the most difficult factor. But the most important thing to make such a reform effective would be the establishment of a morals police and detective force and court to deal with prostitution and vice in general. The regular police will always be inefficient so long as men are amenable to bribes. A special police of this sort would have control of the city at large and would not be tied to a locality.

The court should have two sections: (1) The judiciary composed of a judge and assistants trained in law and competent to deal with all legal problems arising in connection with rental of property for prostitution, violation of the excise law, neglect of performance of duty on the part of the regular police and especially the investigation of the taking of bribes, the white slave traffic, etc. (2) An advisory judicial and executive board composed of the ethical leaders of the community, under whose supervision and regulation would be the entire business of prostitution and the control of the morals police and detective force. Such a scheme without doubt would effect a great change.

But all this would not cure the evil. It

would simply minimize it. The cure lies deeper. The wiping out of the evil could come in no other way than through proper training of the individual in the hygiene of the sexual relation and the general moral development of his nature. The policy of criminal modesty must stop. Mothers and fathers, by adopting the absurd methods of saying nothing to their children, especially during the period of adolescence, are largely responsible for the sexual abuse so prevalent among us. The prostitute comes, for the most part from the poorer classes; her profligate patron is not confined to any class, and he generally comes from a home where questions of sex are taboo. He has been allowed to pass through the period of puberty with its sexual awakenings and demands, its undefined longings and morbid state, without a word of sympathy, encouragement or direction. And then he is allowed to develop and stumble awkwardly into an interpretation of the most fundamental processes of life. He is left in ignorance of procreation and not a word is spoken to him of syphilis, gonorrhea and the soft chancre. The deeper ethical relations involved are not touched upon.

The home, the common school, and all agencies of education, both secular and sacred, must join in ethical training of the most fundamental sort in the relation of the sexes. Such

a scheme, we are confident, would minimize the evil of prostitution and would, we have faith to hope, gradually eliminate this evil which is exacting such a price.

CHAPTER XVI

CONDITIONS AND METHODS OF SOCIAL PROGRESS IN AMERICAN CITIES

THERE is a feeling everywhere in America that, in the management of our cities, we are not doing as well as we should; that, with our twentieth century science, our great mechanical achievements, our splendid religious and philanthropic institutions, we should be able better to promote the public welfare. This feeling of discontent and dissatisfaction gives rise to a desire to do something to change things for the better, and citizens everywhere are now asking, "What can we do to save the city in which we live?" A great many remedies are offered and a great many devices recommended. Some of these are superficial, but others are the result of careful study and are worthy of adoption. No one thing yet discovered seems to be a panacea for all municipal ills. As our difficulties arise from many different causes, many different remedies must be applied in order to remove them.

There are, however, a few fundamental con-

siderations that must be taken into account in any movement for civic betterment. Among these we emphasize the following:

(a) The progress of society is promoted mainly by the conscious effort of men and women. If we want to make our cities better, we cannot do it by sitting still and permitting things to go as they will. If we want better cities, we must plan and work to make them better. We no longer look for God to send fire from heaven to destroy evil, or to send a heavenly visitor to cure human ills. We may pray for better cities, but we must answer our own prayers if we expect them to be answered. Neither can we trust to the evolution of things to bring about civic betterment. There is no doubt a force in the world working for righteousness, but this force is the God within us that prompts us to do the right thing. Thus, while it is true that destiny plays a part in social advancement, we to-day prefer to believe that our destiny is in our own hands and this belief harmonizes with the facts of experience.

(b) No social alleviation can be achieved until it is desired and supported by a large part of the people. Such advocacy on the part of the people may arise from several different causes. The people may feel the burden of unjust conditions and be led to protest against them; they may be shocked or angered at a

violation of their moral sense; they may be stimulated to action by the appeals of men who have a vision of better things; or they may by a gradual process of education come to recognize the need of social betterment.

Whatever be the cause of the feeling and action of the people, there must be well-grounded reasons for the steps taken; otherwise the whole reform may turn out to be a mere social effervescence. Perhaps the commonest way of working for social betterment is to secure the passage of laws by legislative bodies. It is thought that, if a law requiring certain action on the part of the people, or the prohibition of undesirable actions, is placed on the statute books, the reform is accomplished. The law books of every State are filled with statutes forbidding certain acts that reformers deemed opposed to the general welfare. Many of these laws are not in accord with public sentiment, and although they are allowed to remain laws, no one is able to enforce them. The law prohibiting the sale of alcoholic beverages on Sunday, which is on the statute books of many Eastern States, is an example of this sort of legislation. While most people recognize that it would be a desirable thing if the sale of liquor could be stopped on the first day of the week, there is little strong feeling in regard to this matter. On the other hand, there

are in many communities a considerable portion of the people who feel that the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors is a restriction on personal liberty, and these are willing not only to patronize the dealer who sells to them on Sunday, but also to assist in defending him in case he is prosecuted. The dealer, on account of such backing, and because of the profits of the day's sales, is willing to take chances. The result is the practical non-enforcement of the law, and the law itself, instead of promoting social well-being, becomes a tool that is used by the political blackmailer to extort campaign funds or political support from liquor dealers.

The mistake made by promoters of such legislation is in getting legislation before getting the earnest support of a majority of the people. The most permanent social betterment grows out of the felt needs of a considerable majority of the people. They must recognize that a certain course of action is desirable and must acquire the custom, or habit, of doing or not doing, as the case may be, the thing necessary to bring about social betterment. As an illustration, take the matter of school attendance. A half century ago had a compulsory education law been placed on the statute books, it would have been regarded as an infringement of parental rights, and would have been impossible of enforcement. Grad-

ually, however, people have come to recognize the need of education and the importance of regular school attendance, in order to enable the child to secure the necessary equipment for life work. It became the custom of a considerable portion of the people to send their children regularly to public schools. It happened, however, that the indifferent and shiftless failed to take advantage of the opportunities offered. The result was that many children were growing up in ignorance and becoming a burden on the more intelligent part of the community. The perfectly natural thing in the circumstances was done. A law requiring regular attendance in school of children of certain ages was passed and enforced with the approval of the larger part of the people. An intelligent majority in this way imposed its will upon an ignorant and indifferent minority. Its right to do so can never be successfully questioned. Unfortunately, it often happens that the intelligent and thoughtful members of a community form a decided minority. In such a case the minority may submit patiently to the dictates of the majority, or they may endeavor to win over as many as possible for the causes they advocate. It is mainly by this latter method that social betterment results. A few people in any community have a vision of social reform. They advocate it and their enthusiasm

arouses the attention and enthusiasm of others. If the reform advocated is rational, and the people are ready for it, it gradually gains favor, and finally the majority of the people are ready to adopt it.

A great deal of blundering is done and many false steps result from the eloquent appeals of agitators for causes that are not in the course of social progress. Much of the antipathy felt by the practical business man toward the social reformers is due to the fact that the social reformer is too often narrow-minded and has not taken the pains to acquaint himself with the conditions he desires to remedy.

(c) The historical aspects of progress must be considered. The historical development of the race and the work of former generations are factors that must be taken into account. It has often been pointed out that progress is the natural result of the succession of generations of men. The experience of one generation is handed down to the next for its profit and guidance. Each succeeding generation may avoid the mistakes and profit by the successes of its predecessors. In this way, each generation becomes more successful than its predecessor. One writer has used the striking figure of the rise of man as a series of generations, each one standing on the shoulders of the one preceding it. Beautiful as the idea may seem,

it is not in entire accord with the facts of history. If we have continually profited by the discoveries of former generations, why are there lost arts? Why have we not continued to improve in the production of great paintings and great buildings? Why are many of the achievements of former generations apparently lacking at the present time?

It is no doubt true that the accumulated experience of the race is the basis of further progress. It must be remembered, however, that although man has occupied the earth many thousands of years, his advance has been slow and irregular. Until recent times, there has been no desire on the part of nations to advance by mutual helpfulness; on the contrary, each nation formerly regarded the progress of others as a menace to itself. While this attitude prevailed, war was the foremost occupation of men and kings throughout the world. A period of peace, in which a start toward better conditions would be made, would be followed by a period of war, in which the previous gain would be obliterated. Instead of profiting by the experience of one war and seeking to avoid further wars, the period of peace following a war would be utilized in preparation for the next war. Society in such a state could not conserve the gains made during periods of peace, and progress became practically impos-

sible. While the present scientific age is making rapid advances in many directions, it has not yet been able to overcome the war spirit inherited from earlier generations. Although acknowledging the folly of war and recognizing it as the foe of progress, civilized nations continue to expend enormous amounts in building warships and equipping armies. The ingrained custom of the race continues to prevail over its better judgment.

Another bar to the regular forward march of man, is the profligacy with which some generations have used the gifts of nature. Rapid progress bespeaks a favorable environment. The materials with which to build must be at hand. A generation that depletes the soil, that destroys forests, that exhausts mines, leaves nothing but a legacy of debts to its successor. It will be many centuries before China and Palestine will fully recover from the ruthlessness that laid waste their forests. Fortunately, America woke up to the necessity of conservation before the day of redemption was past. Our country is suffering from the foolish destruction of former generations, but the waste is now being checked and the process of restoration has begun.

In the development of cities, the influence of former generations is felt in a different way. A few cities like Washington have been laid

out by men of vision, and their growth has proceeded along symmetrical lines. The great majority of cities, however, are mere assemblages of houses without unity of design, or coordination of parts. To transform an unplanned, unorganized city of this kind into a city of the modern type, requires not only the expenditure of much energy and money, but the overcoming of many legal obstacles. There is no better illustration of the visitation of the sins of parents upon children than the condition of unplanned cities.

Even more unpardonable is disregard on the part of one generation of the rights of succeeding generations. Utterly unmindful of the future, many American cities have granted perpetual franchises to public service corporations and have entered into contracts and leases, or have issued bonds, that will burden many succeeding generations. Thus the work of our ancestors may aid, or may retard, our progress. Likewise the work of our generation may help or hinder the next. Like the individual, the generation neither lives nor dies unto itself.

(d) Action to promote progress must be based on scientific knowledge. The principal reason why civilization is progressing more rapidly now than at any preceding time, is that the present age has adopted scientific methods. Men no longer are satisfied to see merely the

surface of things. They must know all about them. They investigate, they experiment and carefully compare results. Research is conducted in every realm of knowledge and the information gained is freely and widely disseminated. At first, scientific methods were applied to the study of astronomy, physics, chemistry, biology and medicine, but as the value of the method became evident, its scope was extended to nearly all forms of social phenomena. Now, the first requisite in any movement for social reform is the collection of data. The effects of present conditions or practices must be accurately determined and the experience of many different places be brought together and compared. When the requisite knowledge is gained and a satisfactory remedy found, a propaganda to acquaint the people with the facts and to induce them to adopt the remedy must be carried on. The successful attack on the "Great White Plague," recently carried on by the New York State Charities Aid Association and other societies, is a good illustration of this method. The nature of the disease and the ways of combating it were thoroughly learned. Statistics of its ravages were collected, tabulated and charted. Attractive booklets telling the story of the dreaded disease were prepared and scattered broadcast. Public meetings were held and the support of influential men and women

was enlisted. The assistance of the press was secured and in a short time the public became convinced that there should be general cooperation for the eradication of the plague.

(e) Social progress has three principal aims: (1) The further development of the physical, intellectual and moral powers of the individual; (2) the development of better social and economic relations, and (3) the improvement of the physical environment. Some social reformers go to the extreme of placing emphasis entirely on the first, others place it entirely on the second and still others err equally in advocating only the third. The three are closely interrelated. The progress of society is inseparably bound up in the progress of the individual. Likewise the development of the individual is dependent on the development of society and both are dependent on the physical environment. The individual cannot attain the highest degree of development in the midst of a depraved and corrupt society; neither can a prosperous and happy community be made up of corrupt and depraved individuals. It may happen that the people forming a community are so badly organized that their social acts are worse than their individual acts, but it is more probable that the acts of a community as a whole will be of a somewhat higher grade than those of the average individuals constituting the community.

As a rule, however, the individual and the community in their moral standards rise and fall together. A favorable environment promotes the life, health and economic prosperity of both the individual and the community, while an unfavorable environment has the opposite effect. None of these factors should be neglected.

To start with, if our aim is to produce the best possible men and women, care should be taken that the individual be well born. The science of eugenics, which has given rise to much discussion and investigation, is beginning to be of great service in bringing about better marriages, and in preventing marriages between diseased and abnormal individuals. Renewed attention has recently been given to the laws of heredity, and it is now well established that normal individuals beget normal individuals and that imbeciles, idiots and neurasthenics beget their like. The one way therefore to eliminate imbecility, idiocy, and insanity from society is to prevent these defective classes from marrying and rearing children.

The second step in the production of capable men and women is the safeguarding of the health of children. Until recent years, the majority of children born into the world died before reaching the age of five years. Even forty years ago a mortality rate of six hundred per thousand of children under

the age of one year was not uncommon. This high rate was not due to any inherent weakness in the children, or to the effects of climate, or pestilence. Much the greater number of children died from lack of proper care, due not to negligence but to ignorance. It is the plain truth that mankind, up to forty years ago, did not have the knowledge to deal properly with children born into the world. We have already treated the statistical phases of this question in the chapter on "The Conservation of Human Life." They are of great importance in relation to the progress of society. The death of a large proportion of children at an early age involves a tremendous economic loss and a consequent lessening of the capacity of the human family. We need not emphasize the pain and anxiety due to the birth and death of children to show further the great significance of the problem.

Fortunately science has come to the rescue. People have learned to care for children, to feed and dress them properly and thus prevent sickness and death. It is now conclusively demonstrated that a high infant death-rate is almost positive proof of an ignorant or depraved community. While sufficient knowledge is now at hand to insure the health and comfort of little ones, such knowledge is not yet fully disseminated and, unfortunately, the means

necessary to a proper application of the knowledge are not always at hand.

The ordinary milk supplied to many cities is unfit to be fed to infants and high grades of milk sell at prices beyond the reach of many. Attempts are being made to remedy the matter by securing better milk in cities. Farmers and dairymen are being taught to realize the importance of cleanliness in the production of milk. They are required by law to keep none but healthy cows. They must also properly cool and aërate milk and must sell to consumers in the city the milk as it comes from the cow without watering or skimming. These simple propositions contain the gist of the milk problem. They are so obvious that there should be no need of emphasizing them. Owing, however, to ignorance and greed, it has been extremely difficult to secure even a fair degree of compliance with the law. A decided gain, however, has been made in the last decade.

Much progress has also been made in the production of pure food of all kinds. It is now a crime in many states to place on the market any food that contains any poisonous or deleterious substance, and there is a strong public sentiment in favor of the manufacture of only pure articles. The gain made in this way means much for the health of the adult, as well as for infants.

There is another phase of the food problem that is not so promising. Owing to various causes, the price of good food is so high that families with an average income are unable to secure an adequate supply. They must be content to use inferior articles, or to use less than the normal amount of the best food. This matter will probably adjust itself by a return to the farms of a considerable portion of the great crowds that have flocked to cities during the past quarter century. It is certain that deserted farms and excessive prices of farm products cannot indefinitely continue.

From the standpoint of the health and well-being of the individual, the water drunk by him is fully as important as the food he consumes. Drinking water may do its normal work of furthering the life processes, or it may serve as a carrier of virulent germs or deadly poisons. It is almost unbelievable that, less than a half century ago, a large part of the cities and villages of Europe and many of the smaller cities and towns of America, secured their water-supply from wells sunk in the streets or yards of the town. At the same time, these towns had no adequate drainage system. The waste products of the city were taken up by the soil and the soluble parts were carried into wells. Thus the people drank their own filth, and disease and death followed. Tremendous strides have been

made in the matter of securing pure water for cities. Some cities like Naples and New York have gone into the mountains many miles distant to bring down to the people of the city pure mountain water. Other cities, such as Philadelphia, Pittsburg, and Hamburg, have built costly filtration plants, after learning by experience the danger of unfiltered river water.

Not only is the health guarded by protection of the food and water supply, but steps are now being taken to protect the other great source of life, the atmosphere. Recognition of the influence of air upon health is even more recent than that of food and water; but it is now generally known that air, in order to render the body the best service, must be free from dust, smoke and noxious gases, and must not be overcharged with carbonic acid. Fortunately the atmosphere out-of-doors is almost always wholesome and pure. While there may be some difference between air in the streets of a densely populated city and air on the mountainside, still the former may be breathed without risk, provided it is free from dust. The great problem is to secure the requisite amount of pure air in homes, factories, offices and public meeting-places. Great progress, however, is being made. New school buildings now have systems of forced ventilation, and open-air schools are provided for anemic and tuberculous children. In the erec-

tion of modern houses, care is taken to provide adequate means of ventilation. Factories and mercantile establishments are required by law to be properly ventilated and are inspected by agents of the state to compel compliance with the statute. The worst conditions with respect to air are found in crowded lodging-houses and tenements where large numbers of men and women sleep in small closed rooms, many of which are without windows or other means of ventilation. The dreaded white plague, while the result of many causes, owes its continuance more to lack of pure air in sleeping-rooms than to any other cause. In fact, this disease, in its incipient stages, is now being cured by supplying, under favorable conditions, the fresh air the system craves.

The health of individuals is also promoted by the work of health departments in the prevention of the spread of contagious diseases, by the use of antitoxins, by skilful treatment of diseases at their inception, by the use of precautions to prevent accidents and in many other ways. While we cannot hope for the banishment of sickness and death, we may confidently look forward to a time when there will be comparatively little sickness other than that incident to old age and when the great majority of deaths will occur at an advanced age, and

will be caused by the gradual dissolution of the physical powers.

The problem of caring for those afflicted with mental diseases and the defective and unfortunate members of society, is almost as difficult as that of caring for the physically ill. The old method of caring for the public poor was to gather them together in an almshouse and give them merely enough food to maintain them and enough clothing to cover them. In these almshouses of a half-century ago, were crowded together the sick, the blind, the feeble-minded, the idiotic, the insane, the drunkard, the tramp, the physically maimed, the orphan and neglected children. No attempt was made to give each class the treatment needed, but all were treated alike, so far as the circumstances of the almshouse would permit.

Luckily we have escaped from this horrible nightmare of public charity. A new and better system has been evolved. A careful classification is now made of dependent, defective and delinquent classes and a separate institution is provided for each. Well-equipped hospitals are provided for the sick, in which the poor may have the benefit of the highest medical skill. Schools are provided for the blind, in which they may learn music and some of the manual arts, as well as ordinary school subjects. Feeble-

minded children are provided a home and given special training which enables a portion of them to become self-supporting. Feeble-minded women of child-bearing age are maintained in custodial asylums under close surveillance. Feeble-minded men and idiots are given custodial care and are taught to do the simplest forms of manual labor. The deaf and dumb are sent to schools where they are given special instruction to enable them to become self-supporting men and women. The insane are cared for in state hospitals, where they are given occupation, recreation and amusement especially intended to restore them to a normal condition. Confirmed inebriates are cared for in farm colonies where they are given manual labor and wholesome food to restore them to health, and to enable them to overcome vicious habits. Dependent children are cared for in orphan asylums, operated under the cottage system and are trained to do various kinds of useful work and given a common school education.

The almshouse remains only as a refuge for dependent old people who have no other home. The tramp problem unfortunately is not solved. In some places farm colonies for tramps have been organized, but their success has not been so marked that their use has become general. The ordinary system of dealing with the tramp is to drive him from one town to another, or

to send him to the penitentiary for a short term. It is recognized that this is an absolutely useless and irrational method of procedure and that some other method must be evolved. It is probable that the solution will be found in prevention rather than in cure.

In addition to dependents thus cared for in institutions, there is a large number of people in every city that fall below the line of self-support and must receive temporary help. To this class "outdoor relief" is given by a central bureau of charities. In some cities, relief is extended to applicants with little or no investigation; in others, a careful inquiry into the causes of poverty in each case is made. The Elberfeld system of helping the poor, by which the cooperation of a large number of interested citizens in every section of the city is secured, has not been introduced in America to any considerable extent. The special value of the Elberfeld system is that it secures first-hand information concerning every applicant for relief and it does not stop with giving food and clothing, but it undertakes to restore the impoverished person or family to self-support. Moreover, friendly visitors in various parts of the city are on guard to prevent destitution. If a family is on the downward road, the cause is determined and a remedy applied. If the poverty is due to lack of work, employment is

secured. If it is due to drunkenness or vice or crime on the part of the parent, steps are taken to correct the evil. It is difficult to understand why a system that has worked well in Germany since 1852, has not displaced the unsatisfactory system in use in most American cities.

The delinquent and criminal classes form another great barrier in the path of progress. In dealing with these classes, modern society has made considerable progress, but much still remains to be done before conditions can be said to approach the ideal. Under the old method of dealing with criminals, first offenders of all kinds and old offenders awaiting trial would be sent to the county jail or penitentiary. These institutions, instead of being a help to the community in lessening crime, were literally breeding places of crime. Youthful offenders sat at the feet of hardened criminals, and learned lessons of crime that were put into practical operation as soon as an opportunity was offered.

The harm resulting from housing together criminals of all classes has finally been recognized and separate institutions have been provided for youthful criminals. Delinquent children are now sent to industrial and agricultural schools which are conducted on the cottage system and in which habits of industry are inculcated and useful trades taught. Criminals be-

tween the ages of sixteen and twenty-one are sent to reformatories where they are given an opportunity to work and study under wholesome conditions.

Unfortunately, the old type of county-jail and penitentiary still exists in many localities and, although it is rare that a child is sent to one of these institutions, little care is exerted to prevent criminals of different classes from mingling together.

Great changes have taken place in the prison life of adult criminals. The old idea of treating the criminal as an outcast of society is giving way to that of treating him as a human being who is to be helped to a better life. By the use of the indeterminate sentence and the parole system prisoners are encouraged to make good records in the prison, and are also given an opportunity to attend school and to learn useful trades while serving their sentences.

The normal part of the population is greatly burdened by the necessity of caring for all the above-named classes. The extent of such burden varies in different municipalities, but everywhere it is much greater than it should be. The great problem is to prevent social wreckage, and it is to this phase of the problem that philanthropists and sociologists are now turning. There is certainly little encouragement for social workers to treat continually an increasing number

of dependents of the various classes, even though the treatment is carried on in an enlightened way. Society must prevent the production of dependents.

Up to the present time, comparatively little study has been given to the prevention of disease, accident, crime, imbecility and social inefficiency. Society seems to have been content with improvement of methods of treating the unfortunate classes. The social worker of today, however, puts prevention in the foreground and views alleviating charity as a temporary necessity, as something that will pass away when preventive methods have been perfected.

The classification of the different causes of dependency is proving of great assistance in devising preventive remedies. One thing is now set apart from another, so that it may be studied separately and a proper solution worked out.

Physical sickness is probably the greatest single cause of poverty and dependency. Many a family living close to the margin is able to maintain itself, so long as all its members are well, but if the wage-earner becomes ill, or if other members of the family suffer from protracted sickness, then debts and a greater or less measure of dependency result. Poverty in turn causes sickness. Thus the elimination of one would tend to eliminate the other. As before mentioned, most of the ills suffered by man are

avoidable. A large part of these ills could be prevented by a careful observance by all the people of the well-known laws of hygiene. In most cases, all that is needed is a bountiful supply of fresh air, good wholesome food, suitable clothing and shelter and a proper amount of sleep. These simple necessaries, which our civilization should vouchsafe to every one, are probably lacking in the lives of more than one-half the people of every civilized country.

Science, however, enables us to go farther. Our knowledge of germs enables us to keep away from and stamp out contagious diseases and to exclude from abrasions of the skin, the germs that cause tetanus and blood-poisoning. Medical skill is also teaching us how to make ourselves immune from the attacks of many forms of disease.

Mental diseases are more difficult to prevent than physical diseases. Psychiatrists who are devoting their lives to the subject are finding out the causes of insanity and are beginning to point the way to its final elimination.

The part that heredity plays in producing dependency, idiocy, insanity and many physical ills is just being ascertained in a definite scientific manner. Certain facts concerning hereditary tendencies have been known for a long time, but the matter was not clearly enough worked out to warrant any definite line of pro-

cedure. Modern students of eugenics, however, not only state the facts but recommend the remedy. Their proposal, as previously mentioned, is to restore society to a normal condition by preventing the reproduction of criminals, idiots, feeble-minded and insane persons. They not only propose custodial care for dependents of these classes, but advocate the performance of operations that will effectually preclude their bringing children into the world. Laws authorizing vasectomy have recently been placed on the statute books of California, Indiana and New York. While there may be some differences of opinion as to the advisability of such operations, there can be no question whatever that degenerate people should not be allowed to beget offspring. If thorough work is done along this line, we may be assured that there will be a great lessening of the numbers of feeble-minded, insane and other social dependents.

Poverty must also be abolished. The elimination of the inefficient classes will of itself do much to banish poverty, but so long as we have the competitive system we cannot entirely escape the impoverishment of a portion of the people. Like sickness, poverty has until recent times been deemed a necessary concomitant of human society. People have accepted the saying, "The poor, ye have always with you," as of eternal and universal application, although

we are learning it was nothing of the kind. Many people have regarded poverty as a social blessing. Some have considered it as a necessary means of development. Even Andrew Carnegie has extolled its virtues. "Poverty," he says, "develops a man; wealth causes him to degenerate; therefore wealth should be abolished and poverty considered a blessing." Others have considered poverty as a means by the Almighty to chasten his loved ones.

These ideas are now passing, and poverty is being rightly thought of as a social disease that must be cured and prevented. There can be no mistaking the fact that poverty is a great barrier across the path of civilization. Think of a community with no poor people! Imagine a city in which there is no poverty! The realized vision of such a city would mean more to the world than the apostle's vision of the new Jerusalem.

Several special works treating of poverty and its elimination have recently been written. We shall therefore go no farther than to mention briefly some of the ideas that are advanced. It is now generally recognized that poverty arises from two principal causes, namely, individual inefficiency and social injustice. The first cause may be removed by the prevention of sickness and degeneracy as above outlined, and by the proper education of the individual.

In our chapter on "Recent Progress in Education" we pointed out the efforts that are now being made to relate education to practical life. The new aim is to develop the child into an efficient member of society. In Germany where the schools were shaped to this end earlier and to a greater extent than in any other country, the effect is already evident in the increased capacity of the average individual and the consequent lessening of poverty.

The bringing in of proper social and economic conditions is no less difficult and no less important. A man may be physically well, mentally capable and able and willing to perform skilled work. What he shall do and what he shall get for what he does, is a matter for society to determine. Society may take the attitude that it has nothing to do with the matter and let the individual shift for himself. It may assume the function of partially controlling conditions of employment, or it may practically control the whole process of production. The same is true of distribution and exchange. The old theory based on the writings of Adam Smith and his school, was that fair, open and free competition would regulate everything and bring to each person full economic justice. A fair trial of the theory has been made and, although it worked as well during the last century as any doctrine that could have been applied, it is not suited to

the present age and in its original sense has been practically abolished. We have at the present time competition between cooperating groups but very little competition between individuals. Cooperation has become the keynote of modern economics. In its highest sense it means that the members constituting a community should work together for the advancement of the interests of each member. By thus working together, the advantages of the division of labor and of large-scale production would be gains to all. While few communities have as yet adopted general cooperation, the idea has been used in the formation of trusts, labor-unions, cooperative societies, profit-sharing enterprises, insurance companies, etc. Society has only a step farther to go to secure general cooperation and the trend is in that direction.

Under general cooperation, poverty would be almost impossible. It could result only in cases of famine or catastrophe. Henry George's idea that society should own all the national resources including the land, and justly distribute the advantages to be derived therefrom among the whole population, would naturally be included in a general cooperative scheme.

In the government of cities as well of nations the tendency is decidedly toward greater social solidarity. The city is coming to be regarded as a cooperative community which should be free

to regulate its own affairs. Citizens are demanding that the management of the city shall be in their own hands and that the officers chosen to conduct the business of the municipality shall be at all times amenable to the public. To this end, many cities have adopted the commission form of government with the initiative, referendum and recall. The extension of woman's suffrage is another step in the same direction.

The efforts that are being made in cities to improve the physical environment have been outlined in the first five chapters of this work. The recent advance in city planning, in housing and in making cities beautiful augurs well for the city of the future.

In spite of the persistence in our cities of much that is unworthy of this enlightened age the outlook is full of hope. We may confidently look forward to a city in which there will be no poverty, no crime, no contagious diseases and no ignorance; in their stead will be comfort, justice, health, universal education and good-will.

APPENDIX

AMERICAN MUNICIPAL MISGOVERNMENT AS A HERITAGE

[The status of British cities previous to the Municipal Reform Act of 1835 requires a more elaborate treatment than that given in Chapter IX. This chapter is therefore appended.]

THE municipalities of the United States are the direct heirs of the British borough. It will be of interest to trace some of the causes of their mismanagement. This takes us back to the "First Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Municipal Corporations of England and Wales. Presented by his majesty's command. Ordered to be printed 30th March, 1835." [1] This report gives us a summary of the conditions then obtaining. William IV. in his commission says:

"Whereas, an humble Address has been presented unto Us by the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses, and Commissioners of Shires and Burghs in Parliament assembled, beseeching Us, that We would be graciously pleased to appoint

[1] All the quotations in the Appendix are from this report.

a Commission to inquire as to the existing State of Municipal Corporations in England and Wales," etc.

The commission so appointed did a splendid and thorough piece of work. It forwarded a request to each municipality asking for general information; it conducted public examinations in each borough, and was thus able to deal specifically with each case. Five of these corporations and several London companies refused to give information; four other corporations and several London companies refused part of the required information.

Early Charters

Many municipal corporations were established in fact long before they were authorized by law. The powers of government, as a rule, so far as could be ascertained, were vested in the superior magistracy. "In extraordinary emergencies the whole body of burgesses were called upon to sanction the measures which interested the community." Such an arrangement was rather unwieldy; because of this it became the habit to form a committee from the larger body which was dissolved as soon as the business in hand was transacted. In the course of time these committees became permanent and were akin to what became known as common councils; thus a common council was that which at first was called

in either by the aldermen or the presiding functionary to advise respecting extraordinary municipal problems.

There was no uniformity in the constituencies of the boroughs. In general, the municipal magistracy and councils "were the resident and effective heads of the community." "The community probably included in its members, all who shared in its burthens, and were liable to fill its offices."

Not much earlier than the reign of Richard II (1377-1399), justices of the peace and laborers were added to the municipal magistracy and its criminal and civil jurisdiction was extended. During this reign began the practice of appointing municipal magistrates justices of the peace by charter. In the period intervening between the reigns of Richard II and Henry VIII a practice was followed of admitting members to the municipal corporations merely upon a personal right without any qualification either of residence or property.

The greater number of municipal charters were granted between the reign of Henry VIII and the Revolution (1547-1688). The governing principle in all these was to make the community powerless and to augment the power of the governing body. Thus municipal managers became a close corporation absolutely self-elective. The motive for this attitude was associated

with influencing the choice and election of members of parliament. During the same period also the office of recorder, which hitherto had been confined to the larger boroughs was established in some of the smaller ones. Another office created was that of high chief steward, through which the borough was connected with the aristocracy and the crown.

During the reigns of Charles II (1660-1685) and James II (1685-1688) many boroughs were induced to give up their charters and allow the crown to nominate their principal officers. But after the Revolution most of them returned to their former charters. Charters granted after the Revolution resembled their prototypes; they manifested little regard for municipal management or improvement and there was no uniformity of administration. Municipal corporations could not be relied upon for good government; improvements in the boroughs came from sources outside the governing bodies.

The Corporate Body

There was a bewildering medley of municipal corporations. Some had a definite number of incorporators. Most charters incorporated the men and inhabitants of the boroughs. The charter makers were wise in their generation; they invariably provided for a large number of incorporators but were always careful to leave the

rights of freemen undefined. The charter once obtained, it was easy work to restrict the privileges of the burgesses to suit their purposes. The method of being admitted into the corporation was by a vote of the governors. As stated above all qualifications were frequently waived. In the large corporations freedom could be gained by: (1) Birth. In general, the father's freedom was transferred to the children with certain qualifications. (2) Marriage. A man acquired freedom by marrying either the daughter or the widow of a freeman. (3) Servitude. Service under indenture for seven years within the borough or any kind of service for the borough even beyond its limits was awarded with freedom. A distinction was almost universally made between the rights of freemen and of inhabitants. The corporations almost without exception claimed the right to confer freedom. In the city of London a definite sum of money was exacted for the privilege. Here also, as well as in some other cities, membership in the guilds was a prerequisite of entrance into the municipal corporation.

The corporate body exercised the power of electing members of parliament and officers of the boroughs. Often they retained the former right when the latter was lost. Freemen were exempt from many tolls and duties; they alone were eligible to corporate offices; they were ex-

empt from county juries; they had certain rights and privileges in the courts. In Oxford, York and Beverley they had the exclusive right to trade. They and their families were the sole objects of charity.

The Governing Body

This consisted of the head of the municipality and the common council. We find the names, mayor, portreeve, bailiff, steward, etc., given to the principal office. Some boroughs subordinated the office of bailiff to that of the mayor, while in others the chief power was shared by two bailiffs or stewards.

The mayor presided over the common council. In Caermarthen, Ipswich and Berwick-upon-Tweed the freemen were the governing body. In Richmond it was composed of twenty-four selected freeman although at a later date it consisted of the common council.

The common council was composed of aldermen and councilors. Occasionally another division was made. In many boroughs a majority of each division was necessary to form a quorum. Aldermen seldom acted apart from councilors.

Sometimes the governing power was confined to the head of the corporation and aldermen as in Kingston-upon-Hull and Pontefract.

Generally each corporation had a recorder who became a member by charter and was the

legal adviser of it. The bailiffs at Carlisle, the sheriff at Newcastle, the coroners and chamberlains at Scarborough, the sheriffs, coroners and chamberlains at Lincoln and both sheriffs and ex-sheriffs at York were entitled to take part in government by virtue of their office.

There were very few instances in which the freemen chose mayors; and where this was done the choice had to be made either from the council or from those nominated by the council. The general rule was election by the common council of a mayor from its own membership. The term was one year.

Members of the common council were elected by the council itself. They might be nominated by the mayor. The term was for life. Residence was a qualification in some cases. Vacancies were filled by the aldermen. In London and Norwich members of the common council were elected by large bodies of freemen.

The functions of the governing body were to:

1. Enact by-laws.
2. In some boroughs, impose taxes.
3. Nominate and elect freemen.
4. Manage corporate property.
5. Dispense patronage.
6. Elect borough magistrates.
7. Choose and elect members of parliament.
8. Distribute charities.
9. Act as commissioners frequently for local acts.

No salary was paid. London, owing to the great mass of business, formed an exception; here councilors were paid for attending committees, but the fees were very inadequate.

The Corporate Officers

These were the mayor, recorder, town clerk, coroner, chamberlain or treasurer, high steward, and in cities and towns which were counties mayors, recorders, town clerks and sheriffs had the power to appoint deputies.

The mayor was: (1) president of the common council. (2) Chief magistrate and executive officer of the corporation. (3) Returning officer for members of parliament in county boroughs. (4) Generally president of the quarter sessions for the boroughs. (5) Often judge of the court of record. (6) Sometimes coroner ex-officio. (7) Generally clerk of markets. (8) Sometimes keeper of the jail. (9) Occasionally treasurer of the corporation. (10) Commissioner ex-officio of police supervision. (11) In port towns, the admiral; in Rochester and a few other places he exercised this authority to the exclusion of the admiralty of the kingdom; at Southampton and a few other places he had concurrent jurisdiction with the admiralty of the realm. Frequently he appointed all inferior officers. In small places he united all authority in his own person. As a rule he received a salary. In the smaller boroughs

he took all the revenues without rendering an account. At other times fixed sums were paid him, to which tolls were added, which were "collected exclusively in his name and on his behalf." "He is generally expected to exercise hospitality toward the other members of the corporation, and distinguished visitors of the town; and on the whole it is probable that more is expected in this manner than is realized from the ordinary emoluments of the office." Sometimes the mayor received no remuneration.

The recorder was sometimes called a steward. When not appointed by the charter as was generally the case, he was elected by the common council, aldermen or burgesses. Occasionally the consent of the crown was necessary to his election. The charters provided that he should be learned in the law. "This condition is sometimes considered to be complied with by electing a peer of the realm, who being a judge by the constitution of parliament, has been held to come within that technical description." But often even in spite of this he is neither a peer nor learned in the law. The office was sometimes filled by a patron who elected a deputy. The recorder held office during good behavior. He was the principal legal adviser of the corporation and held incidental magisterial and judicial offices in addition to his duties as recorder. Residence was not required. When a deputy was

employed he was usually a barrister or a town clerk.

The sheriff being a county officer was only found in boroughs which were counties. The term of office was one year. He frequently had charge of the jails and prisoners. The method of his election varied, but he was never appointed by the crown.

Bailiffs were chosen annually in a variety of ways. Their functions varied in different boroughs. Originally they were receivers and managers for the crown or other lord of the borough. They had nothing to do with municipal corporations "Until after the property of the soil became vested in the Corporation, when the bailiffs also became corporate officers. In Bedford and Southampton, they were returning officers jointly with the mayor, and were so formally at Cambridge. They often have the custody of the gaol." In some boroughs they perform the duties of sheriff. Sometimes the office was merely nominal.

The coroner was generally elected by the common council. In York he was elected by the freeholders. His duties and emoluments were similar to those of the county coroner. No medical knowledge was required. Often the mayor was coroner ex-officio; and sometimes the office was filled by the bailiff or town clerk.

The town clerk was usually elected by the com-

mon council to hold office during good behavior. The city of Bristol insisted that he should be a barrister. As a rule he was an attorney and acted as a legal adviser to the corporation and recorded its proceedings. "He is generally required to reside in the borough. He is usually clerk of the peace, clerk to the magistrates, and attorney and solicitor to the Corporation." Frequently he was deputy to the recorder. He was also the registrar and principal officer of the court of record. He received sometimes a nominal remuneration, but the introduction which the office afforded to law business was deemed sufficient recompense.

The chamberlain or treasurer was chosen by the common council and was usually a member of it. The mayor sometimes performed the duties of the office. As a rule the chamberlain was a member of the body by which his accounts were audited. He was paid either by salary or poundage on the amount collected. "The chamberlains of London and Bristol are each a corporation sole for certain purposes. The chamberlain of London decides disputes between masters and apprentices, and has power to order the imprisonment of the apprentice, or to cancel the indentures. The chamberlain of Bristol has the same powers, but they do not appear to be exercised."

The magistrates or justices of the peace for the

whole borough were often chosen by the common council and were almost always members of it. The mayor was always the chief magistrate. The recorder was generally one of the magistrates. In many large cities all the aldermen were magistrates.

Courts

Borough criminal courts, as a rule, tried all cases occurring within the borough. Many of them sent serious cases to the county sessions or assizes. Some of them once exercised jurisdiction over capital offences, but later abandoned it. "Salisbury, Southampton and Chichester, still try capital offences; but when capital punishment is expected to follow conviction, an arrangement is made to prevent a trial before the corporate authorities solely." "Several corporations, as Berwick-upon-Tweed, Bristol, Canterbury, Exeter, Rochester, still exercise their chartered privilege of trying and executing criminals for capital offences." At Bristol, felonies committed on a part of the Bristol Channel, are triable at the ordinary court of Gaol Delivery, not as at a Court of Admiralty, but as committed within the body of the county."

The corporate magistrates were the sole judges of the criminal courts. The juries were summoned from the inhabitants at large.

The civil courts usually tried only cases of

debt where the action did not exceed forty shillings. It was a court of record, where the mayor presided and was sometimes called the mayor's court.

That prison reform was needed in these boroughs is evidenced from the fact that "In many boroughs the same gaol is used indiscriminately for criminals, and for the prisoners committed by the court of record." "Sometimes the prisoners are committed at once to the county gaol until trial, brought back for trial to the borough sessions, and finally sent again to the county gaol to undergo the punishment adjudged to them." "Debtors taken under process from the court of record of the borough, must remain in the borough gaol."

The police supervision was very meager. In a great number of towns there were no watchmen or police, except unsalaried constables; these were sometimes appointed by a leet court, but more frequently by the common council. The policing, paving, lighting and watching were not often under the exclusive jurisdiction of the corporation. And "In many places where power to watch and light have been obtained, they are not put in execution." The corporations sometimes supervised fairs and markets. Many of them had a *Pie Poudre* Court. "The Cinque Ports possess by charter a singular power, now disused, of appointing bailiffs who jointly with

the bailiff of Yarmouth in Norfolk, are entitled to exercise jurisdiction at the fair of Yarmouth, similar to that of *Pie Poudre.*"

The management of the poor might be vested either in the corporation or in a distinct body.

A unique condition developed in many boroughs from the fact that suburbs with large populations were found beyond the jurisdiction of the corporation. Bristol had a population of 59,000 with a suburb of 45,000; Carlisle had 8,356 with a suburb of 10,713; Hull had 15,996 with a suburb of more than 20,000, etc.

Frequently there were precincts within the borough beyond the jurisdiction of the corporation.

Many corporations extended their jurisdiction over adjacent waters. The jurisdiction of Rochester extended twenty miles from Medway to Sheerness; that of Bristol to Holmes, twenty-five miles from town; that of Newcastle-on-Tyne to the river, ten miles below the town and seven miles above it; that of Ipswich to a considerable part of the harbor of Harwich.

Property and Patronage

In many boroughs large revenues were received from lands, leases, of tithes and other property, tolls of markets and fairs, the importing and exporting of merchandise, quay and anchorage dues, the admission of officers and bur-

gesses and from fines imposed upon those who refused to serve after they had been appointed to office. Sometimes these funds were ample to pay the expenses of the borough; when they were insufficient "A rate is levied on the inhabitants, in the nature of a county rate." Before the reform act of 1832 the expenses were frequently paid by a patron or a member of the corporation. It frequently happened, however, that the revenue was very inadequate for municipal purposes.

Some boroughs owned extensive commons, the benefits of which were shared by the freemen. "At Berwick-upon-Tweed, where the affairs are managed by the whole body of burgesses, the value of the lands of which the profits are taken by the freemen, is near £6,000 per annum." Some corporations held estates responsible for the repair of bridges and other works; some had funds for specific purposes.

Most of the revenues of corporations were consumed in the entertainment of the members of the common council and their friends.

The debts of the corporations were extremely large and some of them were insolvent. "In some places no accounts are kept, in others they are kept in a very imperfect manner; in very few is there regular and efficient audit, and in still fewer any publication of the accounts."

"The corporations frequently possess patron-

age, both ecclesiastical and lay. They present to livings, appoint lecturers, masters of schools and hospitals, and have the power of selecting the objects of various charities. The patronage is sometimes exercised by the governing bodies, sometimes by particular officers."

Defects

The foregoing is a fairly accurate picture of the corporate management of the English and Welsh cities previous to the municipal reform act of 1835. The commissioners appointed by the crown had not only the enormous task of describing the constitutions and customs of these municipal corporations and taking note of the endless differences of local conditions but also of pointing out the defects of administration, summarizing the grievances of the inhabitants and of suggesting the path which legislation should follow respecting them.

The most glaring defect which they discovered was that these corporations existed independent of the communities in which they were found. They considered themselves exclusive bodies; how absurd to think that any dweller in the municipality had anything to say or do about the way in which the community should be governed just because he happened to live there. The corporations had privileges and powers within the borough, but in no sense did they con-

sider their interest and those of the community identical.

The number of freemen in the borough was greatly out of proportion to the population. In Norwich the majority of the householders and ratepayers were excluded from the corporate body, "While paupers, lodgers and others, paying neither rates nor taxes, are admitted to the exercise of the functions of freemen, and form considerable portion of the corporation." In Plymouth, with a population including Davenport, of 75,000, the freemen numbered 437, of which 145 were non-resident. In Ipswich, with 20,000 population, there were about 363 freemen. One-third of these were not rated. About eleven-twelfths of all the property assessed in the borough belonged to those excluded from the corporation. In sixteen boroughs with a population of 659,431 the number of freemen was 34,697. The unique advantage possessed by the small number of freemen admitted "Exposes them to bribery and undue influence, and advantage is taken of that condition to establish the most demoralizing practices."

The privilege of electing members of parliament "And the rewards for political services, which are brought within the reach of ruling corporations, have caused this function to be considered in many places as the sole object of their institution." The custom of limiting the mem-

bership in the corporation and especially the habit of electing dependents and other servile creatures made the body of freemen wieldy for political purposes. Many corporations were only preserved as political conveniences for controlling elections to parliament. "To maintain the political ascendency of a party, or the political influence of a family has been the one end and object for which the powers entrusted to a numerous class of these bodies have been exercised." The most venal abuses thus arose. The failure to admit freemen, the selection of the common council and magistracy, the appointment of subordinate municipal officers and the borough police, the administration of charity, the expenditure of revenues and the management of corporate property were made subservient to political ascendency. "The commissioners have generally found that those corporations which have not possessed the Parliamentary Franchise, have most faithfully discharged the duties of town government, and have acquired, more than others, the confidence and goodwill of the communities to which they belong."

The number of freemen was always appreciably augmented as the parliamentary elections approached. The motive for this is apparent. The governing body could in this way insure unmistakably the results. A table was prepared from a parliamentary return, ordered to be print-

ed 3 February, 1832, showing the number of freemen admitted annually in 128 cities between the years 1800-1831. There was an appreciable increase in the number of freemen during the years of the general election, that is to say, 1802, 1806, 1807, 1812, 1818, 1820, 1826, 1830 and 1831. The number of freemen admitted in the boroughs since the passing of the Reform Act of 1832 has fallen off very considerably. "Parliamentary influence being the principal object for which freemen are created, it is not surprising that the franchise should be sought most eagerly by those who wished to make it subservient to their own advantage. The most extensive bribery of the freemen systematically prevails at Liverpool, Barnstaple, East Retford, &c." The election of municipal officers was accompanied by similar corruption and resulted not only in the election of the least capable but also of the most venal municipal officials. For all these reasons the commissioners had no hesitancy in saying that the limitation of conferring freedom to the power of municipal corporations was an unmixed evil.

The fact that the governing body was self-elected was a grave defect. This confined the election of a member to fill the vacancy to a particular political party. "Their proceedings are mainly directed to secure and perpetuate the ascendency of the party to which they belong."

Those of adverse political opinion were excluded. Bad government was the only possible result from such a method. London formed a conspicuous exception to the self-elected bodies and therefore to those suffering from the evil consequences which followed. All the other boroughs of England and Wales were close corporations; their proceedings were secret. No information could be obtained from them except "Through the troublesome and expensive process of *mandamus* or *quo warranto*." By-laws, either enacted or repealed, were never published; the inhabitants were kept in entire ignorance of them.

It was certainly a vice "That officers chosen for particular functions are regarded as a necessary part of the legislative body." This practise was the relic of a time when the separation of constitutional authorities was not so clearly understood, that is to say, the separation of the legislative, judicial and executive functions of government. Thus it came to pass that throughout these municipalities magistrates would become involved in politics, magistrates became mayors, mayors became coroners, mayors became treasurers even when the auditing and examination of their accounts was placed in the body over which they presided. Several persons would sometimes fill the same office. In some boroughs the duties of the mayor had been entirely neg-

lected. The choosing of unprofessional persons to fill the legal office of recorder was a very grave defect. The duties of the office were frequently neglected. "The Recorder of Lancaster did not attend the Quarter Sessions once between 1810 and 1832. In 1832 the grand jury of the borough presented that it was expedient he should attend. After attending once, in consequence of this presentment, and a subsequent order of the council, he excused himself on several grounds, among which were these, that his other duties were very important, that he was careful of the interests of the corporation, though absent, and recorders did not usually reside except for political purposes. Upon this, the corporation voted their thanks to him for his attention to their interests."

Two instances were cited to show the treatment of offices for purposes of patronage. At Winchester there were two candidates for an office. One of them only was a member of the corporation. The common council elected both to fill the office, allowing them to share the emoluments and suggesting that the one who was a member of the corporation should do the business. At Boston, an alderman and justice of the peace, together with two of his brothers, supported a candidate on condition that they should receive a yearly allowance from the profits of the office.

Many officers were elected who had no duties to perform, received no fees or salaries and yet they were elected annually and regularly and took the oath to perform the duties of the office to which they had been elected.

Criminal jurisdiction was found extremely defective. In Bath, with a population of 50,000, no felonies could be tried; such cases had to be tried in places from eighteen to fifty miles away. In Winchelsea, with a population of 772 and in Dunwich with a population of 232, criminal jurisdiction extended even to capital offenses. Many corporations had allowed their jurisdiction to become useless because of the unwillingness of the magistracy to undertake the responsibility.

The magistrates were partisan in politics. "The magistrates are usually chosen from the aldermen, and the aldermen are generally political partisans." The inhabitants naturally lost all confidence in the magistrates and therefore they were under the suspicion of the people even when they rendered justice.

The magistrates were often chosen from rather a low type of individual. They conversed familiarly with the culprits, and sometimes fought with the prisoners. At Malmesbury it frequently occurred that the magistrates could not read or write. Often they were too old to attend to their duties properly even when competent. They were frequently not residents of the borough.

Juries were ignorant and partisan. In Haverford West it was impossible to convict a burgess.

The town clerk frequently acted as judge and prosecutor; also as deputy recorder. "He is often practically the principal attorney for the prosecution of offenders tried at the borough sessions, whose commitment he had previously advised in his character of clerk to the magistrate."

The condition of civil jurisdiction was not a whit better.

The expenses of suits were very considerable and at the discretion of the town clerk. They were entirely out of proportion to the services rendered.

Incompetent judges, possessing unlimited power of imprisonment, became promoters of uncivilized oppression.

In the jails there was an improper classification of prisoners. In many of the smaller boroughs they were unfit for human beings. "In these places the prisoners are often without a proper supply of air and light: frequently the jails are mere dungeons under the town-hall. In such receptacles it is impossible to put a prisoner to work, or to separate the criminals and the debtors."

Police supervision was generally inadequate. The inhabitants were empowered under local acts to have commissions appointed to attend to spe-

cific administrative affairs in the boroughs. They availed themselves of this right when the corporations failed to render the necessary public service. But the multiplicity of commissions within the same borough created much confusion. There was invariably a clash of interest; for each commission appointed by the application of the inhabitants voiced their apathy. When there were, as sometimes occurred, two police commissions there was much jealousy between the officers of police acting under the corporation and those acting under the commission.

"In some instances, the separate and conflicting authority of the commissioners is avowedly used as a check and counterbalance to the political influences of the corporation. At Leeds, no persons are elected Commissioners of Police whose political principles are not opposed to the Corporation."

At Winchester the watching of the town was paid for by local subscription.

The danger of having precincts in the borough outside the jurisdiction of the corporation became apparent in the fact that they served as places of refuge for criminals just as formerly churches gave the right of sanctuary.

The discrimination made between freemen and inhabitants became onerous, especially since freedom was not dependent upon the political qualifications or volition of the latter. In the large

towns the exemption of freemen from tolls was a great boon to them, but the consequent larger burden of the non-freeman became unjust.

The imposition of fines for refusal to serve the corporation when exacted to increase the revenues of the borough was made a cause of complaint.

Everywhere without exception the commissioners listened to complaints stating that the market and fair tolls and town dues were not applied to the good of the town.

The following list of positive evils were also noted:

1. The letting of land by the corporations by private contract to members of its own body in consideration of a rent and fines wholly disproportionate to the value and frequently for long terms of years.

2. Many corporations alienated in fee much of their property for inadequate considerations.

3. Carelessness and extravagance in the administration of municipal funds.

4. The exclusive distribution of patronage among friends and partisans.

5. Large sums of money were spent in bribery and other illegal practises. "During the election of 1826, the Corporation of Leicester expended ten thousand pounds to secure the success of a political partisan, and mortgaged some of their property to discharge some of the liabilities in-

curred. In Barnstaple and Liverpool the funds of the corporation have been wasted in defending from threatened disfranchisement a body of freemen, who had been proved guilty of bribery."

6. In general, corporate funds were but partially applied to municipal purposes. A great share of them were devoted to feasting and to pay the salaries of unimportant officers.

7. There was much "graft" in the contracts let to members of the common council, their friends and relations.

8. When some corporations spent money for the municipality they considered it a gracious and condescending benefaction; even then it was partisan.

9. The transition from the view that the corporation was for the benefit of the corporators to the view that they should exist for the sake of private individuals was very easy. These attitudes, in fact, were assumed both in the secrecy surrounding the transactions of the corporations and in the alienation of their property to individuals.

10. Salaries were for the most part not commensurate to the duties to be performed. The almost necessary evil followed. Mayors were frequently paid large salaries to enable them to entertain lavishly. They served dinners periodically. Sometimes large salaries were paid incompetent persons. The commissioners thought

much of this could be remedied by publicity of accounts.

11. There were all sorts of financial irregularities respecting funds for specific purposes, tolls and dues; there were misappropriations of charity funds and property; patronage was used for political purposes. "At Norwich, the patronage of the hospitals, which is vested in the aldermen, has been avowedly exercised in favor of their own party." This happened also at Leicester, Coventry and Northampton. When schools were under the management of corporations there was also a misappropriation of funds. At Coventry the funds of the school amounted to £900 per annum; the two masters divided about £700 between them, despite the fact that they only had one pupil during the year 1833 and one for each of the two previous years. "The perversion of municipal institutions to political ends has occasioned the sacrifice of local interests to party purposes, which have been frequently pursued through the corruption and demoralization of the electorate bodies."

At Berwick-upon-Tweed the corporation borrowed money to be divided among its own members.

Most of the debts of the corporations up to the time the commissioners made their report were contracted as the result of misapplication of public money.

This, then, was the main outline of the condition of municipal affairs in the English and Welsh cities found by John Blackburne and fifteen others—commissioners of his majesty, William IV. They supported their statements by a very voluminous body of facts. This also was practically the condition of affairs in these cities when the United States became a sovereign power and the municipal problem became its own; and this was the state of things when there was such a multiplicity of charters in the United States after the Revolution. This was our municipal heritage. But Great Britain emancipated itself from it through the municipal act of 1835; our deliverance has but begun.

From the foregoing discussion it is clearly established that the elements of municipal corruption in the United States appeared in the British municipalities during the period anterior to the year 1835. There are some modern forms of corruption, to be sure, which we fail to find mentioned by the commissioners. But this was simply because many of our present-day municipal enterprises did not exist. Had they existed there is no reason to doubt that the machinery of corruption in vogue would have been applied to them. For if we try to define municipal corruption we shall find it is none other than the use of public office for the furtherance of individual welfare. The particulars are many, such

as the individual appropriation of public moneys, the extortion of money from the violators of the law in consideration of the protection afforded them, the acceptance or payment of money for votes, the bribery of juries, judges, common councils and mayors, etc., but it all amounts to the substitution of private advantage for the public good. The managers of pre-reform British municipalities exemplified this principle in its most extreme forms.

There are two conspicuous forms of corruption which do not appear in the report, that is to say, the open and extensive alliance with vice and crime known in the United States and also the manipulation of city legislation in the interests of public service corporations. The first omission can be explained from the fact that although the movement toward centers of population set in with the great industrial age immediately after the French Revolution it had not attained to such proportions as to make vice and crime in its alliance with municipal corporations a temptation. A similar observation may be made with regard to corruption arising from privileges and franchises granted to public service corporations. The using of streets for horse-cars and trolleys, the use of illuminating gas and electricity by municipalities, etc., had not been attempted at this time. And even for forms of public service then in existence, such as water

supply, there was a greater tendency toward municipal ownership in the British city than we have known in the cities of the United States. This, as we know, was due to the difference in the attitude of the respective countries toward the fundamental relations existing between the municipality and the state. In the United States the city can do only those things which are expressly permitted by the provisions of the state law; in Great Britain a city may do anything and everything not forbidden by the law of the realm —a most significant difference.

For all these reasons it does not appear that the British city previous to the year 1835 could claim any superiority from either the view-point of efficiency or ethical attitude over the worst forms of corruption in our cities before or after that date. And forsooth, the corrupt American city is a splendid example of the inheritance of acquired municipal corruption from its British forebear. We can not and do not exonerate ourselves on this score; but one naturally wonders what would have happened if the American Revolution had occurred in 1850 instead of in 1776! Would not the Municipal Corporations Reform Act, passed by the British parliament on September 9, 1835, have turned us away from the most extensive forms of municipal corruption the world has ever seen? Be this as it may, that act was one of the best pieces of legislation which it

has ever been the good fortune of Anglo-Saxon legislatures to enact. It cast out municipal misgovernment forever from the British Isles and laid the foundations there of some of the most splendid and efficient municipalities in the whole world. And both the act and its consequences will help us the better to solve our municipal problems, for solve them we certainly shall.

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